



The Death of MARK ANTHONY.

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THE
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE
FOUNDATION of R O M E
TO THE
BATTLE of A C T I U M:

THAT IS,

To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

V O L. XVI.

*By Mr CREVIER, Professor of Rhetorick in
the College of Beauvais, being the Continuation of
Mr ROLLIN's Work.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

The SECOND EDITION.

Illustrated with Maps, and Copper Plates.

L O N D O N:

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MDCCCLIV.

A LIST of the CONSULS NAMES, and
the YEARS comprehended in this Vo-
LUME.

L. CORNIFICIUS.
SEX. POMPEIUS.

AN. R. 717.
ANT. C. 35.

M. ANTONIUS II.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

AN. R. 718.
ANT. C. 34.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIUS II.
L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

A. R. 719.
ANT. C. 33.

CN. DOMITIUS AGENOBARBUS.
C. SOSIUS.

A. R. 720.
ANT. C. 32.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIUS, III.
M. VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS.

A. R. 721.
ANT. C. 31.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIUS, IV.
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

A. R. 722.
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SEX. APPULEIUS.

AN. R. 723.
ANT. C. 29.

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In the P R E S S,

The History of the Roman Emperors from Augustus to Constantine. By Mr. Crevier, Professor of Rhetorick in the College of Beauvais. Translated from the French.

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK LII.

THE war between Octavius and Antony.
The battle of Actium. The conquest
of Egypt. The death of Antony and Cleopa-
tra. The triumphs of Octavius. Years of
Rome 717—723.

§. I.

A league between Antony and the king of Media, who had quarrel'd with the king of the Parthians. Antony perfidiously lays hold of the king of Armenia. He conquers Armenia. He returns to Alexandria, and there triumphs. Octavia leaves Rome to follow her husband. Cleopatra is alarmed at it. Her artifices to keep possession of Antony's affections. Octavia cannot obtain leave of Antony to visit him. She returns to Rome. Her noble behaviour. Antony in a pompous manner acknowledges Cleopatra for his lawful spouse; and declares the children he had by her kings of kings. Octavius lays hold of this to render him odious to the Romans. Affairs grow more exasperated between Antony and Octavius. The Consuls, both friends of Antony, leave Rome to go and join him. Octavius gives a general leave to depart, to all who choose to follow their example. Pallio remains neuter. Antony's last journey into Armenia. He prepares to make war against Octavius.

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The war between Antony and Octavius, which is the subject of this last book, being connected in several circumstances with the various efforts which Antony made to revenge himself of the affront he had received in his expedition against the Parthians, I shall resume the thread of my narration with it.

L. CORNIFICIUS.

SEX. POMPEIUS.

A. R. 717.
Ant. C. 35.

PROSPERITY had soon occasioned a division between the kings of the Medes and Parthians. The dividing of the spoils of the Romans was the occasion of it; and the king of the Medes suspected that Phraates wanted only a subject of contention, by way of pretence to

B 2

deprive

A. R. 717. deprive him of his kingdom. Being apprehensive of this he had recourse to Antony ; and
 Ant. C. 35. Polemon, king of Cilicia and a part of Pontus,
A league between Antony and the king of Media, was employed in this negotiation with the
who had quarrelled with the king of the Parthians. Roman general. Polemon, son of Zeno, an
 orator of Laodicea, was one of Antony's
 creatures, and was indebted to him for his
 whole fortune. He came to Alexandria, and
 easily persuaded him, that with the assistance
 of the Median cavalry, he would certainly
 overcome the Parthians. Thus he spurred on
 his resentment against the king of Armenia,
 whose perfidy had left in him a strong desire
 of vengeance. The king of Media in the same
 manner breathed nothing but destruction against
 the king of Armenia, whom he looked upon as
 the author of the war which Antony had made
 against him. Thus every thing was prepared
 for a new expedition in the higher Asia. But
 it was no easy task to free Antony from the
 pleasant enchantment of Cleopatra's charms.
 Thus the affair was put off till the year following,
 when he was made Consul for the second time
 conjointly with Libo.

A. R. 718. M. ANTONIUS II.
 Ant. C. 34. L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

Antony perfidiously lays hold of the king of Armenia. He bent his whole efforts against the king
 of Armenia, and made no scruple to oppose
 perfidy to perfidy. As soon as the season
 would permit, he left Egypt, and, putting
 himself at the head of his troops, marched towards
 Armenia, sending letters however, and deputations
 before him to Artabazes, in order to engage him
 to come and join him, endeavouring to deceive him
 by specious promises,

promises and false protestations of friendship, which he carried so far as to demand his daughter in marriage for one of his sons which he had by Cleopatra.

A. R. 718.
Ant. C. 34.

The king of Armenia, who was sensible of what he had deserved from him, and had at that very time entered into a secret negotiation with Octavius, put no confidence in Antony's caresses. He contrived excuses to elude his pressing invitations, and to avoid putting himself in the power of him whom he had offended. But the Roman general strengthened his solicitations by the terror of his arms, advancing with his troops towards Artaxata, the capital of Armenia. The surprize which this occasioned, determined Artabazes at last to go to the Roman camp, and try if the outward appearance of confidence would have any effect upon Antony's generosity.

He had soon occasion to repent of the step he had taken, for he saw himself immediately seized. Antony's pretence for it was, that he had need of money, in consequence of which he wanted, that the treasures of the king of Armenia, which were kept in several fortresses, should be delivered up to him ; and he could not expect to constrain those who had the care of them to a compliance, but by keeping their king a prisoner, and obliging them to purchase his liberty at the price of his treasures. Artabazes agreed to Antony's proposal, and being presented successively before the different fortresses, he order'd their gates to be opened. But the Armenian lords refused to obey those orders, which were manifestly extorted by violence ; and seeing their sovereign captive, they proclaimed his eldest son Artaxias king in his

A. R. 718.
Ant. C. 34.

*He con-
quers Ar-
menia.*

stead. Upon this Antony put off the mask, and caused Artabazes to be put in chains of silver, affecting to preserve an outward shew of respect for the dignity of the king, whilst he was doing an open violence to his person.

Thus a war was declared, but it was neither of long duration, nor attended with difficulty on the part of Antony. Artaxias so newly placed on the throne, could not resist an enemy so superior in force, and whom they had imprudently received into the heart of the kingdom. He was intirely defeated in a battle, and obliged to retire into Parthia. Armenia submitted to the Roman yoke, and the whole family of Artabazes, his wife and children, became prisoners to Antony, all except Artaxias.

Such was the origin of the troubles which oppressed for a long time Armenia, continually shaken by two powerful empires, between whom it was situated, being successively invaded by the Romans and Parthians, without remaining fixed under the power of either; enjoying a precarious liberty only at intervals, but never an entire repose.

*He returns
to Alexan-
dria, and
there tri-
umphs.*

Antony finished his exploits this campaign, by the conquest of Armenia; and contenting himself with continuing his alliance with the king of the Medes, by the project of a marriage between one of his sons and a daughter of that prince, he left a sufficient number of troops in Armenia, to keep possession of that kingdom, and returned with the rest into Egypt.

There he made a trophy of a victory which the ancient Roman generals would have blushed at, and even had the assurance to transport into Alexandria a glory which till then had

been reserved to Rome alone. He triumphed, A. R. 718.
Ant. C. 34 tho' a Roman, in the capital of Egypt, in order that Cleopatra might share in the pomp, and receive all the honours of it. Thither they carried the spoils of Armenia ; and there Artabazes appeared prisoner, bound in chains of gold, together with his wife and children, and several of the nobles of the kingdom, being all conducted to the feet of Cleopatra ; who surrounded with a brilliant court, and a great multitude of spectators, was seated on a throne of gold, which supported an alcove of silver. Antony's intention was that his prisoners should render humble obedience to the queen of Egypt, and prostrate themselves before her ; but their haughtiness would not submit to this. Artabazes, tho' in this mortifying situation, still remembered that he was the son of the great king Tigranes, so that he would neither kneel before Cleopatra, nor in speaking to her give her the title of queen. This haughtiness of Artabazes mortified Antony, and became at last fatal to the captive king, who was sent to prison, and put to death soon after the battle of Actium.

The conquest of Armenia was only the beginning of Antony's designs ; his chief aim being to subdue Parthia. Animated by his own resentments, spurred on by the solicitations of the king of the Medes, and flushed with the hopes of success, which by joining the Median cavalry with his legions, was, in his opinion, unquestionably certain, he set out, and arrived in Syria, in the beginning of the second consulship of Octavius.

A. R. 719.
 AN. C. 33.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIUS II.
 L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

*Octavia
 leaves
 Rome to
 follow her
 husband.*

In the beginning of this year, Octavia obtained leave of her brother to go and visit her husband. He granted her request, less from a motive of doing her a pleasure, in the opinion of most authors, than from the hopes that Antony would use her ill, and that thereby she would become the occasion, though innocently, of exciting against her faithless, and ungrateful spouse, an universal discontent in the minds of the people, by whom she was very justly held in the greatest esteem. This artifice was of a piece with Octavius's temper, and he must have been sensible that he stood in need of it ; for Antony, notwithstanding all his faults, had a considerable number of friends in need Rome, and his reputation there was still very great. For this reason the young and artful Triumvir, seems for some years immediately preceding the rupture between him and Antony, to have been entirely busied in effacing the too favourable impressions of his rival left in the Romans, both by laying hold of every occasion of rendering him odious, and making himself appear in as amiable a light as possible.

The effect which he promised himself from this journey of Octavia, turned out as he expected. As soon as she arrived at Athens, she received letters from Antony, ordering her not to proceed any farther ; alledging, by way of excuse, the war which he was preparing to carry into the empire of the Parthians. Octavia was not deceived by that pretence,

tence, and she easily penetrated into the true reason of so mortifying an order. Mean while always submissive and full of good-nature, she only wrote to her husband to ask him where he chused to have the things sent to, which she had brought to him from Rome. These were cloaths for the troops, horses and mules for the baggage, money and presents for the chief commanders and Antony's friends, together with two thousand choice men, well armed, richly equipped, and distributed into pretorian cohorts for his guard. Niger, who was esteemed and respected by Antony, was the person who carried Octavia's letter; and with a detail of the things I have just mentioned, he joined the praises justly due to her who sent them.

Cleopatra was alarmed. She was sensible that she must at least suffer a brisk attack from Octavia, who certainly would endeavour to regain Antony's heart. That princess was too quicksighted not to discover what advantages a lawful wife, whose decent deportment, besides the influence of her brother's power, recommended her, must naturally have over her. She was afraid, lest Octavia by adding to such powerful charms, those of a sweet modesty, and a constant attention to please her husband, together with a certain easiness and dignity of behaviour, should gain the superiority.

The artful Cleopatra had recourse to a stratagem. She feigned herself so passionately in love with Antony, as to run a risk of dying by the apprehension of losing him; and she acted this comedy with a surprizing address. She eat very little in order to make herself meagre; and affected a confusion whenever Antony approached,

A. R. 719.
Ant. C. 33.

Cleopatra is alarmed at it. Her artifices to keep possession of Antony's Affections.

A. R. 719. approached, languishing after him always when
 Ant. C. 33. he retired. In short she contrived it so that he
 often surprized her weeping, but she immedi-
 ately suppressed her tears, as unwilling to have
 them observed.

To heighten this dissimulation, she employ-
 ed flatterers, who reproached Antony of be-
 ing hard-hearted and cruel, in destroying a
 woman whose heart and fortune were entirely
 attached to him. “As for your marriage
 “with Octavia, said they, that was a political
 “match, on account of her brother, and she
 “enjoys the name and honour of your spouse;
 “whereas Cleopatra, who is queen of so ma-
 “ny nations, is called Antony’s mistress. And
 “she neither refuses nor disdains this name,
 “provided she can only have the satisfaction
 “to see you and pass her days with you.
 “But if she must be deprived of that which
 “is the only object of her wishes, you will
 “infallibly ruin her, for she can never sur-
 “vive so sensible a misfortune.”

Octavia
 cannot ob-
 tain leave
 to visit
 him.

This scheme of Cleopatra’s was too art-
 fully laid, and too well concerted, for Antony
 to be able to avoid the snare. He was then in
 Syria, and he not only denied Octavia leave
 to visit him, but he also abandoned his expe-
 dition against the Parthians, and notwithstand-
 ing the favourable opportunity which the *
 troubles of that empire presented him with,
 and his engagements with the king of the
 Medes, he wrote to that prince that they must
 defer the execution of their design ’till another
 opportunity, and returned to Alexandria, for

* *An account of these will be given near the end of this
 book.*

fear of occasioning the death of Cleopatra, A. R. 719.
Ant. C. 33.
whose dupe he was.

Octavia being rejected by her husband re- She returns
to Rome.
Her noble
behaviour.
turned to Rome, and her brother, who want-
ed only to increase the dissension betwixt them,
advised her to leave Antony's house, and take
an apartment where she might live retired, as
if she had no husband. But the virtuous
Octavia positively declared to him, that she
would not leave her husband's house. She
even begged of him, if he had no other rea-
sons for making war against Antony, to forget
every thing which personally regarded her.
“ For, says she, it would be shameful that
“ two such great and powerful generals, the
“ one from the motive of love for a woman,
“ and the other from that of jealousy, should
“ throw the Roman state into a new civil
“ war.”

Octavia's conduct was agreeable to those
generous declarations. She continued in An-
tony's house, taking care not only of the
children she had by him herself, but also of
those of Fulvia. And when ever any of Antony's
friends came to Rome, they always found her
disposed to assist them, and to do them all the
service she could with her brother. By this
noble behaviour she hurt Antony, contrary to Antony in
a pompous
manner ac-
knowledges
Cleopatra
her intentions ; for the more merit she shew-
ed, the more people were exasperated at the
affront she had suffered from him.

Antony gave himself no trouble to quiet for his
lawful
wife ; and
declares
the chil-
dren he had
by her
kings of
manner
these complaints : on the contrary he seemed
to pride himself in exasperating the spirit of
the Romans still more against him, by a pom-
pous ceremony, of which the splendid and
theatrical apparatus, quite contrary to the
manner kings.

A. R. 719. manner and maxims of the Romans, pro-
 Ant. C. 33. claimed to the world that he was no more
 himself, having forgot every thing else but
 Cleopatra.

He assembled the people of Alexandria in the * Gymnasium, where there was raised an alcove of silver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, who came to seat herself upon it cloathed, according to her custom, in the ornaments and attributes of Isis, the principal deity of the Egyptians. Below were seats for the queen's children. There Antony distributed the crowns, and presently after, having solemnly protested, that he took Cleopatra for his lawful spouse, he acknowledged and declared her queen of Egypt, of Lybia, of the island of Cyprus, and of Cœlesyria, conjointly with Cæsar, whom he declared at the same time to be the true and lawful son of the dictator Cæsar. Afterwards he gave to the two twins which he had by Cleopatra, Alexander and Ptolemy, the title of kings of kings. He appointed for Alexander's share, who was to marry the daughter of the king of the Medes, Armenia, which was lately taken from Artabazes, and by a very ridiculous clause, the country of Parthia, as soon as it should be conquered. To Ptolemy he allotted a more certain establishment, viz. Syria, Phenicia, and also Cilicia. After this proclamation, the two new kings approached the thrones of Antony and Cleopatra, cloathed in

* A vast building, set apart those gymnasiums, or in the
 in the towns of Greece for theatres, that the Greeks held
 bodily exercises. It was in their assemblies.

the royal robes of their respective countries; Alexander in a Medish dress, with a tiara on his head; and Ptolemy with the robes which were worn by the successors of Alexander, the slippers, military coat, and cap covered with a diadem. In this pompous dress, they paid their respects to Antony and Cleopatra. After which they seated themselves, being each attended with a guard, the one of Armenians, and the other of Macedonians.

All sense of decency was so greatly extinguished in Antony, that after having acted this ridiculous scene in Alexandria, he was not ashamed to send an account of it to the Consuls at Rome, viz. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Sosius, who were both his friends.

Cn. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS. A. R. 720.
C. SOSIUS. A. C. 32.

The Consuls had more sense and discretion than Antony, and therefore suppressed his letters; but Octavius, who was informed by other hands of all that had passed, was at great pains to communicate it to the Senate and people. He was personally piqued at the honours bestowed upon Cæsario, whom he saw they affected to oppose to him as a rival with regard to his quality of son and heir of Cæsar. And with respect to those objects which interested the public, a queen acknowledged as a wife by a Roman General, and the title of King bestowed upon their children; large provinces dismembered from the empire, in order to augment Cleopatra's dominions, or to bestow them upon new Kings; the pomp of the triumph transported from Rome to Alex-

A. R. 720.
Ant. C. 32.

Alexandria ; all this offered a fair field to Octavius to raise the hatred and contempt of the people against Antony.

*Affairs
grew more
exaspera-
ted be-
tween An-
tony and
Octavius.*

Suet. Aug.
4. 7. 16.
68, 69.
Etc.

The young and artful Triumvir laid hold of these advantages, without shewing any kind of regard for his adversary ; and from thence arose disputes between them, which were a prelude to the war, that very soon after broke out betwixt them. Antony reproached Octavius in an outrageous manner, attacking him upon his birth, honour, and personal conduct, as may be seen in several places in Suetonius. He sent formal complaints against him to the Senate, alledging that he had used him ill in several particulars. The first article regarded the invasion of Sicily, which Octavius had taken from Sextus Pompeius, and kept to himself without admitting any one to share it with him. The second regarded those vessels which Antony had furnished in that war ; the restitution of which he affirmed was neither exact nor compleat. In the third place, he complained of the deposing of Lepidus, their common colleague, whose spoils Octavius had appropriated to himself. And lastly, of the lands in Italy being distributed by Octavius entirely to his own soldiers, without allowing those of Antony to enjoy the least share.

These complaints had at least a specious appearance, and Octavius was at great pains to justify himself on all those articles. He alledged that Lepidus very well deserved to be deposed for his unjust ambition, contrary to all their agreements. That with regard to the lands with which he augmented his district, he would share them with Antony, as soon as he should divide his conquests with him. With
respect

respect to the distribution of lands and colonies, he answered with a kind of insulting irony, that Antony's soldiers had no need of an establishment in Italy, since by their great and glorious exploits they had conquered Media and Armenia, which furnished them with a sufficient recompence for their trouble.

Thus we see that the enmity between the two Triumviri was carried to great excess. They mutually strove to decry each other, and to find out pretexts or reasons for commencing the war. Antony, who probably was sensible that the extremes to which his passions for Cleopatra carried him, were a great disadvantage to him, and gave a considerable superiority to his rival, contrived an expedient to regain the affections of his countrymen. He wrote to the Senate that he was determined to abdicate the [•] Triumvirship, as being a magistracy

[•] Seeing Antony here offers to lay down the triumvirship, he supposes himself at this time a triumvir. Mean while the triumvirship which was established at first for five years, and was afterwards prolonged for five years more, ought to have expired, as I observed, at the close of the preceding book, the last day of December 719. It must consequently be imagined that there had been a second prolongation before this time. In short I have observed in the same place, that from the time of the treaty of Misenum, Antony and Octavius had acted as if they ought to keep up the

triumvirship at least for twelve years. Appian has an expression at the end of his book of the wars of Iliyrum, which confirms this opinion, that the prolongation was for more than ten years. On the other hand the abridgment of Titus Livius's 131st book affirms, that they reproached Antony for not abandoning the triumvirship, tho' the time of it was expired: which cannot be otherwise understood, than by supposing that after the ten years were expired, it was not lawful for Antony to consider himself as a triumvir. There is in all this a confusion and obscurity which I am not able

A. R. 720. stracy too powerful and absolute in a republi-
 Ant. C. 32. can state. And thus he spoke the reverse of
 his thoughts, his intention being only to re-
 gain the affections of the people, and at the
 same time to lay a snare for Octavius, who re-
 siding upon the spot, ought naturally to be
 the first to relinquish the triumvirship, and
 who could neither agree to it nor refuse it
 without great embarrassments.

Octavius took very artful measures on this
 occasion. He discovered a middle way be-
 tween two extremes which were equally dan-
 gerous, which was to demand that Antony
 should come to Rome, in order to abdicate
 the triumvirship according to his promise.
 Liv. Epit. This demand was certainly very specious, for
 CXXXI. in the situation they were in, with regard to
 each other, there was no security for either of
 the two to take this important step, unless it
 was done in concert, and at the same time. Be-
 sides there was no place more proper for it than
 Rome, the centre both of the empire and
 of the whole public power. This proposal
 therefore of Octavius seemed highly reasonable,
 tho' at the same time he ran no risk of being
 taken at his word. For tho' Antony had not
 been enslaved by the charms of Cleopatra, and
 confined by the ascendancy she had over him,
 he could not, without doing an injury to him-
 self, come to Rome, where his rival had great-
 ly the superiority, and could easily have crush-
 ed him.

These transactions between the two Trium-
 viri occasioned long and violent debates in the

*to remove, and which we more exact, and composed by
 should not meet with if the more accurate authors.
 histories of those times were*

Senate

senate; for Antony had there a powerful party, and the two consuls then in office, were entirely devoted to him, as I have before observed; with this difference however, that Domitius who had suffered a great many disgraces and misfortunes, and who having been harassed for a long while by civil dissensions, knew well the danger of appearing zealous on those occasions, kept himself more moderate and reserved than the other. Sotius, on the contrary, who was always attached to Antony, and till that time enjoyed a constant flow of happiness, shewed all that pride which naturally results from a long series of good fortune. He openly opposed Octavius, and as this triumvir absented himself to avoid being exposed, the consul took the advantage of his absence, and would have passed a decree very hurtful to his interest, if the tribune Balbus had not opposed it.

Octavius imagined that his patience would be construed as a weakness, and on the other side he was loth to make use of force, or seem to lay any constraint on the senate. He came thither to seat himself between the two consuls, but with the precaution of being attended by a number of his friends, armed with poinards under their robes. There he began with a modest declaration, and an artful apology for his conduct. Afterwards he inveighed against Antony, and Sotius, who was present, pretending to convict them of several attempts against him and the republic. He was heard with attention, but without the least mark of approbation. Observing that his speech was not attended with the designed success, he appointed a day in which he would

C

produce

A. R. 720.
Ant. C. 32.

A. R. -27. produce and read such pieces as would put
 Act. C. 32 Antony's designs in a full and proper light.

The consuls, both friends of Antony, leave Rome to go and join him. The consuls did not think it proper to wait for that day, imagining that it was indecent for them to listen quietly to such an accusation of Antony, when they durst not well testify their resentment against it. They therefore privately left Rome, in order to join Antony, being attended by several senators.

Octavius gives a general leave to all who chose to follow their example. Octavius was by no means displeased at this. It was a thing to be wished for by him, that those who were friends to Antony should leave Rome and Italy, rather than stay there perhaps to stir up disorders, while he might be absent and busied in actions of war. Thus making a shew of moderation which cost him nothing, he declared that he had not the least intention to retain any of those who wished to join Antony. Almost all the friends and relations of Antony accepted of the leave which was granted by Octavius.

Pollio remains neuter. Pollio, who after the treaty of Brundisium, where he acted as plenipotentiary for Antony, had not in the least interested himself in his affairs afterwards; and being too proud to make his court to Cleopatra, and too grave to join in their foolish amusements, had constantly remained in Italy, did not think he was obliged to take part with Antony in the quarrel which was a breaking out. But at the same time judging it would be indecent for him to carry arms against his old friend and benefactor, he remained neuter. And when Octavius proposed to him to attend him in the war, he refused to do it. "I have done more for Antony, says he, than he has rewarded me for, but his favours to me are better known than the

“ the services I have done him. I will there-^{A. R. 710.}
 “ fore wait for the event, and run the risk of^{Ant. C. 32.}
 “ becoming the prey of the conqueror.”^c.

Domitius found Antony at Ephesus, making ^{Antony's} preparations for war, and assembling his naval ^{last journey} forces. He had arrived there from Armenia, ^{into Arme-} whither he had been led by the desire he had ^{nia. He} to put the last hand to his alliance with the ^{prepares to} king of Media, in order to attack conjointly ^{make war} the empire of the Parthians. But having re-^{Octavius.} ceived news from Rome, informing him that a rupture with Octavius was inevitable, he delivered himself up entirely to this object, and abandoned his intention of marching in person against the Parthians. He therefore only sent succours to the king of Media for pushing it, and in return received assistance from him for the war he was going to make against his colleague. At the same time he ordered Canidius to advance towards the sea with sixteen legions, and taking with him Jotapa, the daughter of the king of Media, who was designed for the spouse of his son Alexander, he went to Ephesus, where Cleopatra came to meet him.

I shall here observe by the way that Anto-^{His alli-} ny's alliance became fatal to the king of Me-^{ance fatal} dia. That prince supported by the Roman ^{to the king} troops which had been lent him, gained a ^{of Media.} victory over the Parthians, and over Artaxias ^{Dio. L.} whom they protected. But afterwards Anto-^{XLIX.} ny having recalled his troops, and not sending back those whom the king of Media had lent him, this prince was too much weakened, and

^c Mea in Antonium ma- que discrimini vestro me
 jora merita sunt, illius in subtraham, & ero præda
 me beneficia notiora. Ita- victoris. *Vell.* II. 86.

A. R. 720.
Ant. C. 32.

could not support himself. He was vanquished and made prisoner, and thereby Artaxias restored to the possession of Armenia, and Media fell under the dominion of the Parthians. Thus ended the great projects which Antony had formed, and the efforts he made with regard to the east and the higher Asia.

Antony's friends endeavour to persuade him to send back Cleopatra during the war, but are not able to prevail.
Pict.
Anton.

Domitius on his arrival at Ephesus, endeavoured to persuade Antony to send back Cleopatra into Egypt. He was a person of very great weight himself, and besides in this he only expressed to Antony what every one, who truly loved him, wished for. Cleopatra was afraid, lest Antony should hearken to them, and if once she should be separated from him, Octavia would hinder him from renewing any negotiations of alliance and peace. In order to prevent this she gained Canidius over to her party, and by the help of money, engaged him to speak in her favour. Canidius, for whom Antony had a great regard, and to whom he gave command of all his land forces, had the baseness unworthily to deceive his patron, who placed a particular confidence in him. He represented to him the important assistance which the queen could furnish; two hundred vessels, including store ships, twenty thousand talents, and provisions for his whole army during the war. “ It would neither be
“ right, added he, to fall out with a princess,
“ who can procure you such great advantages,
“ nor exasperate the Egyptians, who
“ compose so great a part of your naval
“ forces. And besides, in what is the queen
“ inferior, either with regard to the talents
“ of the mind or prudence, to any of
“ the kings, who accompany you in this
“ war?

“ war? During so many years which she has A. R. 720.
Ant. C. 32.
“ governed a powerful kingdom, being in-
“ structed both by your advice and example,
“ she is no less remarkable for her conduct in
“ great affairs, than for the charms of her
“ person.” Thus Antony was persuaded to
retain Cleopatra, though contrary to his in-
terest. For it was necessary, says Plutarch,
that Octavius should remain conqueror, the
decrees of providence having so ordained it.

Ephesus was the general rendezvous of An- Sumptuous •
tony’s troops, and during the time they were and gay
assembling he went over with Cleopatra into entertain-
the island of Samos, there to abandon him- ments du-
self to foolish and ill-timed rejoicings; for ring the
while the kings, princes, people and towns, preparati-
from Syria and Armenia, as far as the Egean ons for the
sea, had orders to send to Ephesus all the
provisions necessary for war, at the same time
all the musicians and comedians were obliged
to go to Samos; and while almost the whole
universe suffered a violent commotion, and
was filled with cries and tears, one single city
amidst that universal distress, minded nothing
else but feasts, balls, comedies, and shews
of all kinds, and echoed with the sound of
vocal and instrumental musick, so that one
would be at a loss to comprehend in what
manner, and by what kind of rejoicing, they
could celebrate a victory, when they gave
such pompous and gallant feasts in preparing
for a war.

We may easily conceive that these diversions A pearl
dissolved
were accompanied with the best of cheer, and in vinegar
extravagant entertainments; and I believe that and swal-
a monstrous instance of the luxury and prodi- lowed by
gality which we have transmitted to us by the Cleopatra.
Plin. IX.

A. R. 720. elder Pliny, ought to be referred to the time I
Ant. C. 32. now speak of.

Antony's table was extremely ^d sumptuous, mean while Cleopatra acting, says the author I have quoted, as a mistress and a queen, put on airs of disdain, and affected to despise the magnificent entertainments which Antony gave her. Being weary of this subject, he asked her one day if it was possible to add to the magnificence of his table. She answered him, that at one supper she could lay out 10000000 sesterces (about 62000 l. sterling). Antony declared he thought the thing was impossible; but she insisted upon it, and the wager was laid. The next day, which was fixed upon to determine this important problem, Cleopatra gave a supper, magnificent you may be sure, but not more so than Antony's commonly were. So that he already triumphed, and, with a sneer, desired her to shew him the bill. The queen answered him, that what had hitherto been served up was only a small part, for that she herself would consume the 10000000 sesterces, and at the same time she order'd the desert to be brought in. Upon which an officer, pursuant to the order he had received, set before her a cup of vinegar, so strong that it would dissolve pearls. Cleopatra had then two of the most beautiful pearls in the world, which at that very time she wore in her ears.

^d Hæc, quum exquisitis apparatusque obtrectans, quotidie Antonius saginaretur quærente eo quid adstrui epulis, superbo simul ac procaci fastu, ut regina meretricis, lautitiam ejus omnem sestetium absumpturam.

She

She * took one of them, and threw it into the vinegar, which having dissolved it, she drank it off. After this she put her hand to the other pearl to do the same by it, but Plancus, a judge worthy of such a wager, laid hold of her arm, and saved that wonder of nature, by declaring that Antony had lost; an expression, which, after the event, was interpreted as a presage of Antony's defeat at Actium. They add, that after Cleopatra fell into Octavius's hands, this pearl, which was saved by Plancus, was by command of the conqueror cut in two, in order to make pendants for the ears of a Venus in the Pantheon; and thus that goddess was magnificently adorn'd with a jewel, which was only half the value of a supper of Antony's and Cleopatra's.

Antony having sent the comedians from Samos to Priene, there to remain and wait for him, came to Athens, where the shews and amusements were revived. Cleopatra was there intent upon another object. She was jealous of the honours which Octavia had there received; for the virtue of this lady had raised the admiration of all Greece, which loaded her with all possible testimonies of respect. The queen of Egypt, who could not merit them by

A. R. 727.
Ant. C. 32.

Honours
decreed to
Cleopatra
by the A-
thenians.

* I remember a similar instance related by Horace of the son of the comedian Esop, who caused to be dissolved in vinegar a pearl, valued at a million of sesterces, and swallowed it.

Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,
Scilicet ut decies solidam exsorberet, auro
Diluit insignem baccam. Quî sanior, ac si
Illud idem in rapidum flumen jaceretve cloacum.

Hor. Sat. II. 3.

† Ut esset in utrisque Veneris auribus Romæ in Pantheo dimidia eorum cœna.

A. R. 720.
A. D. C. 32.

the same means, substituted in their place carresses, and external marks of favour towards the Athenians, who were always fond of flattering persons in power. They made a decree comprehending all kinds of honours which they bestowed on Cleopatra, and Antony was weak enough to carry it himself, and like an Athenian citizen, to harangue the queen in the most flattering terms. But he had done the like before at Alexandria.

Antony

sends orders

to Octavia

to

quit his

house at

Rome. She

observes with

tears.

It was at this time that he actually divorced Octavia, by sending an order to her to leave his house. She obeyed, taking with her all her husband's children, except the eldest, who was with Antony, and on leaving the house, she cried, and bewailed her fortune, being sincerely affected at finding herself one of the causes of the civil war. The Romans, who were spectators of this affecting scene, at the same time that they sympathized with her in her grief, deplored still more the blindness of Antony; they especially who had seen Cleopatra, and knew from ocular conviction that she was no way preferable to Octavia, either for her youth or beauty, could not conceive the reason or so fatal an enchantment.

He lets slip

an advantage

in the

fortune of

Octavia.

Octavius.

Antony was infatuated in every respect, for he lost in diversions and debaucheries an opportunity which was very precious, as his adversary was not sufficiently prepar'd, and therefore feared an attack this campaign. In short, besides a great many things he wanted, the taxes which he levied upon the people of Italy, exasperated them against him. He demanded of the citizens the fourth part of their income, and the freedmen were obliged to pay him the eighth part of what they were worth. Those
violent

violent extortions were universally complain'd of; all Italy was in confusion, and he was even obliged to employ his soldiers to levy the money and appease the commotions. If Antony at such a crisis as this had made haste to approach him with those forces which he had, he might have put Octavius into very great danger; but his negligence of his own affairs, an inevitable consequence of foolish passions and too great love of pleasure, made him neglect so favourable an opportunity. Octavius had time to restore quiet in Italy, and reconcile to himself the minds of the people.

Thus he made preparations for war during this year very slowly, endeavouring at the same time to run down his rival more and more, and to put a good face upon his own actions. Full of this scheme, he received with great pleasure a deserter of considerable weight, *viz. Plancus leaves Antony, and joins Octavius.* Plancus, who came to deliver himself up to him, after having been a long time the intimate confident of Antony.

Plutarch excuses this conduct of Plancus, by alledging that it was owing to the fear of Cleopatra's resentment, on whose separation from Antony he had strongly insisted.

Velleius represents this affair in a very different light. Vell. II. 83. He calls Plancus a traytor, who changed his party out of fickleness and a perfidious temper. Plancus, according to this historian, had been the most vile flatterer of Cleopatra, more low and servile to her than the meanest of her slaves. He did not refuse the most shameful offices in Antony's service, and he so far forgot the decency of his rank, as to equip himself like a sea god, painted green, and naked, having his head bound with reeds, dragging

A. R. 720
A. M. C. 52.

dragging a tail behind him, and dancing upon his knees. A venial wretch, who on every occasion sold himself to the highest bidder. It was not then the love of the publick, nor esteem for the best party, that determined a man of this character to leave Antony for Octavius; but Antony having reproached him at a feast, for his notorious rapines and extortions, he was afraid, and avoided by flight the punishment which his misdemeanor deserved.

This is Velleius's account of the matter, who had an opportunity of knowing Plancus very well, and paints very naturally. Besides his account may be easily reconciled with that of Plutarch, for there is nothing to hinder us from thinking, that Plancus probably advised sending away Cleopatra from the war, and that Antony's anger on that account might burst out into those reproaches, which were but too well founded.

Whatever was the motive that detached Plancus from Antony's friendship, Octavius concerned himself very little about that. But he was delighted at having in him, and in Titius, his nephew, the murderer of Sextus Pompeius, witnesses and accusers against Antony, whom his interest obliged him to render as odious as possible. For these two deserters, according to the practice of such men, in order to justify their own conduct, never fail to blame the party they have left, railed with open mouths in the Senate against Antony, and laid a thousand atrocious things to his charge. This occasion'd a grave reprimand from an old Prætor, named Coponius. "To be sure, says he, Antony

‡ *Multa mehercules fecit Antonius pridie quam tu illum relinqueres. Val. 11. 33.*

“ became

“ became very culpable the evening before A. R. 720.
 “ you left him.” Ant. C. 32.

Octavius listened to those speeches with the Reproaches
 greatest satisfaction, and Cluvius, one of his thrown up-
 partizans, seconded what had been said, laying on Antony
 a great many accusations to his charge, which in the
 all sprung from Antony’s foolish passion for Senate.
 Cleopatra. He said he had given her the library Plut. An-
 of Pergamus, consisting of 200000 volumes; ton. Dio.
 that he had suffered the Athenians to salute
 her in his presence, by the titles of queen and
 mistress; that frequently during the time he
 gave audience to princes and kings, he re-
 ceived from her love-letters, and read them
 before them; that upon a certain occasion,
 when Furnius, a person of considerable rank,
 and the most eloquent among the Romans,
 pleaded before him, Cleopatra happened to
 appear, and crossing the Forum in a litter, An-
 tony left the assembly to follow her, and laying
 his hand upon the litter he went along with
 her. These reproaches which among us would
 appear very trifling, were judged to be very
 serious among the Romans, and it was not by
 extenuating, but by denying them, that An-
 tony’s friends, who remained still in Rome,
 undertook to excuse him.

But there was nothing that pleased Octavius Antony’s
 better, or gave him more occasion of triumph, will read
 than Antony’s will, the articles of which he in the
 was informed of by Titius and Plancus, who Senate,
 had signed it as witnesses. This will was de- and to the
 posited with the Vestals, and Octavius de- people, by
 manded it of them. They refused to deliver Octavius.
 it up, but told him, that if he chose to come
 and take it himself, they neither could hinder
 him, nor would attempt to do it. He did so,
read

A. R. 720.
Ant. C. 32.

read it first himself, and having carefully marked those articles which were most liable to be criticised, he read it in full senate and before all the people: but not without being censured by a great many, who thought it very strange that a man, who was still alive, should be obliged to be accountable for what he ordered to be executed after his death. However, several of those articles were so ridiculous, that they were more struck with the indecency of them, than with Octavius's irregular manner of proceeding.

Antony therein confirmed Cæsario the lawful son of Cæsar and Cleopatra. He bequeathed immense legacies to his children which he had by her, and what shocked the Romans most was, his ordering, in case he should die in Rome, that his body, after the usual honours were paid to it in the Forum, should be transported to Alexandria, and delivered to Cleopatra, by whom he desired to be buried.

Geminus, who was sent to Antony by his friends at Rome, is ill treated by Cleopatra and leaves them.

Antony's friends observing that the minds of the people began to be disgusted at him, had recourse to prayers and intreaties with them, and, in the mean time, sent Geminus, one of the party, to make the last effort upon their chief, and engage him not to cause himself to be ignominiously deprived of his office, and declared an enemy to the publick. Cleopatra, seeing Geminus arrived, guessed the cause of his journey, and looking upon him as Octavia's agent, she did whatever lay in her power to disoblige him, affronting him perpetually with her insulting rallery, and appointing him always the lowest place at their entertainments. Geminus waited very patiently till he should have an audience, but at last being
called

called upon in the middle of a feast to explain himself, “The affairs I come to negotiate, said he, are not of a nature to be treated of at table; but one thing I am convinced of, whether merry or sober, *viz.* that every thing will go very well if you send back Cleopatra into Egypt.” Antony was in a passion, and Cleopatra, without being moved, said to Geminius, “You have done very right to own the truth, and save yourself from being put to the torture.” Geminius being afraid, made his escape in a few days, and returned to Rome. A great many others took the same resolution with him, not being able to bear the insolence of Cleopatra’s flatterers, who affronted them upon every occasion.

Plutarch mentions particularly M. Silanus, who was afterwards Octavius’s colleague in the Consulship; and Q. Dellius, whom he calls the historian, but he is better known by the title which Messala gave him, of the ^b tumbler of the civil wars, because he had left Dollabella for Cassius, Cassius for Antony, and now Antony for Octavius. Dellius was the first who had been dispatched by Antony to Cleopatra, to order her to come and give an account of her conduct. I have before related in what manner he acquitted himself of his commission. He not only suspected that the charms of this princess would render her mistress of Antony’s heart, but he was also sensibly smitten with them himself. Seneca the father quotes several gallant letters from Dellius to Cleopatra. Towards the latter end of the time that

^b Delium Messala Corvinus desultorum bellorum civilium vocat. *Sen. Suasor.* I.

A. R. 720.
Art. C: 32.

Hor. Sat.
I. 6.

he was with Antony, he offended Cleopatra, by an expression which escaped him at an entertainment. He said, that they had only a thin tart wine for their cheer, while Sarmenus (which was the name of a buffoon who diverted Octavius, and whom Horace has rendered famous) drank of the best Falernian wine at Rome. This reflection affronted Cleopatra very much, and Dellius pretended, that he was informed by a physician, name Glaucus, that his life was not safe. Perhaps he told the truth, and perhaps he invented this story to excuse his perfidy. Cleopatra was wicked enough to endeavour to destroy him, but Dellius hardly seems to have veracity enough for us to depend upon his word.

Cleopatra's madness. Antony's excessive infatuation.

Rome echoed with complaints and reproaches against Antony. His old adversaries, as well as those who had lately deserted his party, all join'd in condemning him; and his own conduct was still more hurtful to him than all the speeches which were made to his disadvantage. A slave to Cleopatra, he appeared to have no other will than that of his queen, who had the assurance to promise herself the empire of Rome, and who, when she wanted to confirm an oath, swore by the laws she would dictate in the capital to the whole universe. She had already a Roman guard, the soldiers of which had her name engraved upon their bucklers. Octavius had then a sufficient foundation to make the Romans fear, that Antony, in case he became conqueror, would subject them to Cleopatra, and transfer the seat of the empire from Rome to Alexandria. Antony seemed entirely to have forgot that he was a Roman. He had laid aside not only the manners and maxims,

maxims, but even the dress of his country. A. R. 720. Ant. C. 32.
 He frequently appeared upon a throne of gold, cloathed in the manner of the eastern princes, all glittering with purple and precious stones, a Median sabre by his side, a golden sceptre in his hand, and, if we may believe Florus, a diadem upon his head. He had abolished the use of the name of *Pretorium*, which signified, with the Romans, the tent and apartment of a general in camp, or the habitation of the sovereign magistrate in the provinces, substituting in its stead * one which signifies a * Βασιλειον royal tent or habitation, as if he had yielded ^{on} the pre-eminence and right of command to Cleopatra. In short, in the same manner as Cleopatra gave herself out for the new Isis, and assumed the attributes of that goddess to her person, in the pictures and statues which were made for her, Antony caused himself to be painted by her side, or represented either in brass or marble, with the symbols which characterised Osiris.

Antony, industrious in rendering himself *A decree* odious to the Romans by so many different *which de-* methods, succeeded at last in ruining himself. *prives An-*
 Octavius obtained a decree to deprive him of *Antony of the* the Consulship, which he was to have enjoyed *Consulship* the following year, and likewise of the Trium- *Triumvi-* viral power. He did not cause him to be declared *ral power.* an enemy to the publick, either because he durst not push matters to that extremity, being afraid of the friends which Antony had still at Rome; or, which appears to me more probable, in consequence of that system of moderation which he had prescribed to himself, ever since his victory over Sextus Pompeius. If Antony had been declared an enemy to the publick, all
2
those

A. R. 720. those who were attached to him, among whom
 Ant. C. 32. were several persons of distinction, would have
 been involved in the same condemnation; but
 Octavius had no intention to lose them, and
 was very glad, on the contrary, to leave them
 an open passage to return to him. He even
 wanted that the decree, which was issued a-
 gainst Antony, might promise impunity, and
 signify an approbation to those who should
 leave him.

War de- It was therefore against Cleopatra ⁱ alone
 clared a- that the war was declared. They put on the
 gainst Cleo- military robe in Rome, as for an imminent
 patra. danger, which greatly interested the safety of
 the Republic; and all the ceremonies of a
 declaration of war in form, were solemnly
 observed.

Octavius, in a speech which he made to the
 people on this subject, affected to say, that
 Antony enchanted by a sorceress was no more
 himself; and that the chiefs of the war against
 the Romans would be the Eunuch Mardion,
 Cleopatra's milliner, and her waiting woman,
 who would direct the greatest affairs in the
 empire. Thus all this discretion shewn to An-
 tony, who was not once mentioned in the de-
 claration of war, tended only to render him
 contemptible, and at the same time more re-
 proachable and odious, seeing that without be-
 ing personally attacked, he must take part
 against his country and fellow-citizens for a
 strange woman.

*i I am surprised that imitated the reserve of his
 Horace, in a great number of patron in this point; but
 verses which he wrote on this Virgil did not shew himself
 war, never so much as once so circumspect.
 mentioned Antony's name. He*

Antony understood perfectly well the bad intent of the shew of moderation which his enemy affected towards him, and being extremely provoked, he demanded a new oath of his troops, and swore himself solemnly at the head of his army, that he would never make either peace or even a truce with Octavius. He added, that he would abdicate the Triumvirship two months after the victory. Tho' he was far from having a sincere intention to perform this promise, he resisted a long time the importunity of his soldiers, who wanted he should allow himself the term of six months; and it was with the greatest marks of seeming reluctance that he gave his consent to it. The malice was no less violent on the other side. All Italy engaged itself by oath to serve Octavius in the war against Antony. Only the city of Bologna, which had always been under the protection of Antony's family, asked and obtained leave not to enter into this league against its patron.

The whole year passed in these preparations for war, without any actual hostility committed on either side. Octavius wanted to have time to make himself sure of Italy, and to take all the necessary precautions for preventing the commotions which his absence might occasion. He had the more reason to be afraid of these, as he knew that Antony, whom the opulent countries of Asia and the East furnished with immense riches, had sent considerable sums to Italy, and even to Rome itself, in order to re-animate the courage of his antient friends, and gain him new ones if possible. This determined Octavius to distribute a gratification to his soldiers, to strengthen their fidelity

A. R. 720.
Ant. C. 32.

against any attempts that might be made to corrupt them. He likewise placed troops in such places as he suspected, or were exposed to the insults of the enemy. All which required a great deal of care and time.

Antony by his effeminacy and negligence delayed entering upon action. Towards autumn he arrived at the island of Corcyrus, and having learned that the enemy's vessels appeared upon the neighbouring coast, tho' there was only a few of them sent for intelligence, he supposed that Octavius's whole fleet was at sea, and retired towards Peloponnesus. There he put his troops into winter quarters, and spent that season himself at Patras.

Affairs were in this situation when Octavius took possession of his third Consulship, having Messala for his colleague, who was substituted in the room of Antony.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIUS, III.

A. R. 721.
Ant. C. 31.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS.

*The sea
and land
forces of
the two
parties.*

There never were such powerful and numerous forces, both by sea and land, seen assembled for any war, whether foreign or domestick, as those with which Antony and Octavius prepared to attack each other.

Antony had a 100,000 foot and 12000 horse, in which number the auxiliary troops that were sent from the kings, his allies, were not included. Bogud, king of a part of Libya, Tarcondimotus, king of the higher Cilicia, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Philadelphus, king of Paphlagonia, Mithridates, of Commagena, and Amyntas, of Galatia, served in person in his army. Herod, king of the

the Medes, Malchus of Arabia, and Polemon, An. R. 722.
Ant. C. 31. whom Antony had made king of part of Pontus and Cilicia, had sent him succours. His fleet amounted to 500 vessels of war, a great many of which had from eight to ten rows of oars, sumptuously adorned, according to the taste of magnificence and even luxury, which appeared in every thing about him.

Octavius's forces were not so considerable. His land-army consisted of 80,000 legionary soldiers, with cavalry equal to that of Antony. His Fleet did not exceed 150 vessels, and they were a great deal smaller than those of Antony, but better built, more nimble, and far better manned with sailors and rowers, who understood how to work them perfectly well. Whereas those large hulks in Antony's fleet were half empty, had no body to steer them, but such as they had picked up, the greatest part of them forced into the service, and had never seen the sea; as reapers, muleteers, and young men almost boys, whom they pressed upon the roads, dispeopling Greece, without being able at last to put on board a sufficient number.

The whole Roman Empire was shaken by this war; the eastern part of it rushing against the west. Antony's dominions reached from the Euphrates and Armenia as far as the Ionian sea; and to these vast regions must be added Egypt and Cyrenaica. Octavius had on his side Africa, from the district of Cyrene as far as the great sea, Spain, Gaul, Illyrium, Italy, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. But Italy did not furnish him with forces only; it was also a great support, and a very advantageous ornament to his party, as Virgil expref-

An. R. 721.
Ant. C. 31.

ses it, when describing the battle of Actium, he represents, on one side, * Augustus¹ leading Italy to the fight, accompanied by the Senate and people, the household gods of Rome, and titular deities of the empire; and, on the other, Antony dragging after him barbarous nations, a thousand different kinds of armour, Egypt, the East, Bactria. and, to compleat the ignominy, an Egyptian spouse, who followed, or rather commanded him.

*Actal-
lenge sent
to Antony
by Octavi-
us. Anto-
ny answers
it by ano-
ther.*

By the account which I have given of the forces of the two parties, it appears that both generals had grounds to hope for victory. In this each of them discovered a strong confidence, in which policy had as great a share as conviction. Octavius, who was neither proud nor vain-glorious, sent a challenge however to Antony; and whilst his vessels were still in the ports of Tarentum and Brundisium, he proposed that he should come to Italy, offering to leave the necessary ports and roads free for his fleet, and to go from the sea-coast to the distance of a day's journey on horse-back, concluding with a promise of giving him battle in five days after they were disembark'd; and in case this proposal was not agreeable to Antony, he demanded to be received into Epirus on the same terms. Antony did not accept of either of these proposals, but on the contrary made a

* Hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Cæsar,
Cum Patribus populoque, Penatibus & magnis Dîs.
Hinc ope barbaricâ variisque Antonius armis.
Victor ab auroræ populis & litore rubro,
Ægyptum, viresque orientis, & ultima secum
Bactra vehit; sequiturque, nefas! Ægyptia conjux.
Virg. Æn. l. viii.

¹ Octavius had the name of Augustus when Virgil wrote these verses.

jest

jest of them, “for who shall be the judge, ^{Ant. R. 721.}
 “said he, if either of us should fail in any ^{Ant. C. 31.}
 “article of the convention?” But in order
 to be even in rhodomontade with an enemy
 whom he never granted to be brave, he chal-
 leng’d him to a single combat, or, in case a
 general battle should be more agreeable to him,
 he propos’d that they should transport their
 armies to the plains of Pharsalia, in order to
 decide their quarrel at the same place where
 Cæsar and Pompey formerly terminated theirs.

These were frivolous proposals, and could
 never be put in execution, tho’ perhaps they
 had their use by encouraging the soldiers on
 both sides.

Mean time the fine season began to come in, ^{Octavius}
 and it was now time to enter upon action. Oc- ^{assembles}
 tavius assembled at Brundisium, and the neigh- ^{all his}
 bourhood of it, not only all his troops, but those ^{forces at}
 who were the most distinguish’d, and had the ^{Brundisi-}
 most influence amongst the orders of Senators ^{um.}
 and knights. He purposed to employ the knights
 in his service, and to secure to himself the fi-
 delity of the Senators by keeping them about
 his person. At the same time he was delighted
 with shewing openly to the whole universe,
 that the chiefs and body of the Roman empire
 were unanimously interested in support of his
 cause.

With regard to the embarkation, his chief
 care, according to the example of his great
 uncle, was to prevent the vessels being load-
 ed with a number of useless persons and
 superfluous provisions. He therefore regu-
 lated the number of slaves which each offi-
 cer or Senator was to take with him, and the
 quantity of provisions they were to furnish
 themselves with.

Ann. R. 7:1.

Ann. C. 31.

He detach-

es Agrippa

with a

squadron to

harass the

enemy.

** Now*

called Me-

don.

When every thing was ready for the general departure, he detached Agrippa at the head of a numerous squadron to harass the enemy. That brave commander acquitted himself nobly and successfully of his commission. He made descents on several places in Greece, took by force * Methona, a considerable town of Peloponnesus, and defended by a good garrison. Bogud, king of Mauritania, was killed on this occasion. But the most important exploit of Agrippa in this expedition, was his seizing a large convoy of provisions and warlike stores which was coming to Antony from Syria and Egypt. After so happy an opening of the campaign, Agrippa returned to rejoin Octavius, who, encouraged by those first successes, made haste to go in search of the enemy with all his forces.

He sets out

himself

with all

his forces.

They set out all together, and covered the Ionian sea with a prodigious number of vessels, both transports, for carrying into Greece four-score thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and likewise ships of war, to the number of two hundred and fifty. The land-army disembarked at the † Ceraunian mountains, and had orders to march along the coast as far as the gulf of § Ambracia. Octavius himself at the head of his naval forces, having taken possession, in his voyage, of Corsica, which was abandoned by the enemy, stopt to refresh himself in a [¶] port formed by the river Acheron,

† The

mountains

of Chime-

ra.

§ Gulf of

Arta.

[¶] This port was called the *sweet* port, either because the water there was sweet, or on account of the rivers which discharged themselves there, or the fountains which spring from it. It is placed in the map of Greece by M Danville, by the name of Glycys limen, which is a Greek name wrote in Roman characters.

where it falls into the sea. There he appointed the general rendezvous of his fleet, and soon after he sailed towards the promontory of Actium.

Tho' he might very naturally have been expected there about that time, yet he was very near surprizing Antony, whose fleet then lay at anchor near that cape. Antony had nothing ready; his legions were not arrived, and his vessels could hardly be rowed for want of a sufficient number of hands, and even those had perished every day with hardships and diseases, especially such of them as were forced into the service, and were therefore obliged to apply to a painful labour they were not accustomed to. They relate a very cruel and inhuman expression of Antony on this subject. When they told him that more than a third of his seamen were dead, "Provided they pre-serve the oars, said he, we shall never want hands to work them whilst there are men in Greece." If it be true that Antony express'd himself in so cruel and brutal a manner, he very well deserv'd the misfortunes which fell upon him.

During the universal confusion which the sudden arrival of Octavius occasioned, Cleopatra amused herself in affected gaieties, which would hardly deserve to be taken notice of here, if it was not an instance of the character of that princess, equally ridiculous and contemptuous. When they told her with great concern that the enemy had taken possession of Tornyum, a small town, whose name in Greek

▪ Remi modò salvi sint. quod Græcia homines ha-
Nam remiges non deerunt, buerit. *Oros.* vi. 19.

An. R. 721. signifies a *ladle*, she punned upon the word,
Ant. C. 31. “ We have great reason to be afraid, said she,

“ now that Cæsar has possession of the *ladle*.” This insipid allusion of hers would not have saved the fleet. But Antony made amends for his negligence by his skill and presence of mind. He had only a very few troops on board his vessels, and if he had been attacked, he must certainly have been destroy’d. In order to deceive an enemy whom it would have been impossible to resist, he armed his rowers, and made them come upon the deck, where he ranged them in good order. At the same time he caused the oars to be suspended in such a manner, as that the blades might appear in the air on both sides of the vessels. This feign’d appearance imposed upon Octavius, and determin’d him to retire, being persuaded that Antony was in a proper condition to receive him.

The position of the two armies.

Octavius had a double intention in that sudden and unexpected motion which he made. He expected either to obtain some advantage by force, or to gain over to his side some of Antony’s troops. But not having succeeded in either of these views, he determined to establish himself and fortify his camp on the north side of the gulf of Ambracia, where he after-

* Now wards built the town of * Nicopolis; and from
called Pre- his camp he drew three lines of communica-
viza. tion with the port of Comarus, upon the Ionian sea, at a little distance from the port which was formed by the river Acheron. Antony occupied the two points which commanded the entrance of the gulf; there he had raised towers or forts, keeping a strict guard upon the mouth of the harbour with his vessels, so
that

OCTAVIUS III. and CORVINUS, Consuls. 41

that he could go in or out of the gulf when he pleased. His camp was extended in the plain below Actium, separated from that of the enemy by the breadth of the same gulf. An. R. 721.
Ant. C. 31.

The two armies remained a great while in this position before Octavius could bring Antony to a battle. The same reason determin'd them both, the one to engage, and the other to shun it. Antony's troops were not yet all assembled, and it was as much his interest to wait for those which he expected, as it was his enemy's to prevent their joining him. All therefore which happened for some time were little skirmishes, small rencounters among the cavalry, and captures of store-ships, without any action of importance. Small skirmishes.

As soon as Antony had assembled all his forces, he discovered more confidence. He transported part of his army to the other side where the enemy were, and there formed a camp, leaving however his chief forces in his old camp near Actium. Then Octavius shew'd less ardor in pressing an engagement; but while he kept himself quiet, he had always some detachments, both by sea and land, in action. In order to harass Antony, and oblige him if possible to quit the post he occupied, he sent several bodies of troops into Greece and Macedonia; and Agrippa, by his order, having put himself at the head of a powerful squadron, took possession of * Leucate, together with the vessels which he found there; subjected Patras, and even Corinth itself. Agrippa's fortunate expedition.
* The cape of St. Mauro.

Agrippa's success made the balance incline to Octavius's side, and staggered the fidelity of a great many of Antony's friends; desertions became very frequent in his army, and some illustrious Great desertions in Antony's camp. Abenobarbus leaves Antony's party

AN. R. 721.
ANT. C. 31.

illustrious personages, such as Philadelphus king of Paphlagonia, and Amyntas king of the Galatians, left him to go over to the enemy's camp. But no revolt made so sensible an impression on him, as that of Domitius Ahenobarbus. He was the most distinguished of all Antony's friends, both by his birth, rank, and noble courage. He would never stoop to make his court to Cleopatra, and was the only person who, whenever he spoke to her, called her always by her name. In consequence of this behaviour, he met with a thousand disgusts from that haughty princess every day. The aversion which this gave him, and perhaps the fear of an unfortunate event, to which he saw every thing tended, engaged him to go in quest of more respect and a better fortune in Octavius's party. Tho' he was at that time ill of a fever, he threw himself into a boat, and happily passed over. Antony was much provoked at it, and revenged himself by ridiculing Domitius, attributing his flight to his impatience to visit a freed-woman whom he loved, and without whom he could not live. In other respects he behaved very generously towards him, and, contrary to Cleopatra's advice, he sent after him all his equipage, and every thing belonging to him. Domitius died very soon after, without having time to be of any service to Octavius, if we except that his example weakened the esteem of the party which he abandoned, and was a motive for others to do the same.

Antony becomes exasperated.

The great number of desertions exasperated Antony, and pushed him on to cruelty. Upon suspicions which I think doubtful whether they were well founded or not, he tormented to death

death Jamblichus, king or prince of a country in Arabia; and he deliver'd over a Senator, called Quintus Posthumius, to the fury of a number of mad people, who tore him in pieces like so many beasts of prey.

Antony's peevishness extended itself even to Cleopatra, and he began to distrust her. By one of those vicissitudes which violent passions commonly produce, he passed from one extreme to another; and she, to whom he had submitted all his inclinations, became suspected by him of having a design to poison him. In consequence of which, whenever he eat with her, he ordered every thing that was served up to be tasted before him. Cleopatra made a jest of these precautions, and diverted herself by proving to him that they were of no use. Once at a feast she put upon her head a garland of flowers, which were poisoned at their extremities; and when they were full of mirth and gaiety, she desired Antony, according to a custom used among people of pleasure, to drink garlands, that is, to drink wine in which garlands had been steeped. Antony agreed to it, and taking that which Cleopatra wore, he stript off the flowers, and throwing them into the cup, he was just going to drink, when the queen laying hold of his arm said to him, ^p "I am the person against whom you take the precaution of this new

An. R. 721.
Ant. C. 31.

Cleopatra
laughs at
Antony for
suspecting
that she
wanted to
poison him.
Plin. xxi.
3.

• Pliny dates this in general from the time of the preparations for the war of Actium in apparatu Actiaci belli, and I find no place more proper for inserting it than this.

^p En ego sum, inquit, illa Marce Antoni, quam in novâ prægustantium diligentia caves: adeo mihi, si possim sine te vivere, occasio aut ratio deest?

“ method

An. R. 721. “method of ordering every thing you eat and
An. C. 31. “drink to be tasted. If it was possible for
 “me to live without you, could I want oppor-
 “tunities or means of destroying you?” At
 the same time she caused a criminal to be
 brought in, who was ordered to drink the
 wine in Antony’s cup, and expired immedi-
 ately. A jest of this kind, one would think,
 must have had something in it disagreeable to a
 suspicious man; but Antony drew no unfa-
 vourable conclusion from it; on the contrary,
 he renewed his former blind confidence in Cleo-
 patra.

*New losses which
 Antony
 sustains.
 He runs a
 risk of be-
 ing taken.*

At the same time he met with some new
 losses, which increased his uneasiness about the
 success of the war. Sosius having engaged in
 a sea-fight was beaten, and the king Tarcondi-
 motus there lost his life. Antony himself had
 no better success in a small action of the caval-
 ry, where he was in person. In short, he ran
 a risk of being taken and falling into the hands
 of Octavius. The affair happen’d in the fol-
 lowing manner.

He was situated near the enemy, in the camp
 he had formed on the north-side of the gulf,
 and he frequently went without much precau-
 tion from the camp to his fleet, trusting himself
 to the palisadoed lines, which maintained the
 communication from the one to the other. Oc-
 tavius was informed of it, and placed an am-
 buscade, which were very near seizing An-
 tony; for the person who immediately pre-
 ceded him was taken, and he saved himself
 with difficulty by running with all his speed.
 This adventure determined him to return to
 his old camp, at the foot of the promontory
 of Actium.

Seeing

OCTAVIUS III. and CORVINUS, Consuls. 45

Seeing his affairs become more and more ruinous every day, besides a famine which began to spread in his army, he concluded that he ought to change his plan of the war entirely. He therefore called together a grand council, to deliberate what was to be done in such a conjuncture. Dio assures us, that Cleopatra's advice was to march back all the troops into Egypt, leaving only garrisons in the most considerable posts and towns in the countries they were to quit. A shameful and foolish advice, which I cannot believe even Cleopatra herself durst propose to Antony. Mean while this historian adds, that the Roman general consented to it, and that the battle of Actium, which followed soon after, happened in spite of Antony, when he had an intention to retire, and not to fight. This account, of which I do not find the least hint in any other author, appears to me very improbable, and I rather chuse to follow that of Plutarch, according to whom, the resolution of giving battle having been taken and confirmed, they only deliberated whether they ought to fight by land or sea.

Antony had much more reason to put confidence in his legions, hardened by so many battles, than in a fleet which was ill equipp'd, ill mann'd, and till that time had met with no manner of success. This was also the opinion of Canidius, who at the approach of danger, forgetting his complaisance to Cleopatra, advised his general to send her back, and to retire himself into Thrace or Macedonia, there to determine the quarrel by a general battle in the open field. He represented that, in this case, Dicomus, king of the Getæ, promised powerful

An. R. 721.
Ant. C. 31.

powerful assistance; that it was not the least dishonourable for him to abandon the sea to Octavius, to whom the wars against Sextus Pompeius had afforded an opportunity of becoming skilful in sea-affairs; and that it would be very strange if Antony, who had such great experience in land-fights, did not take the advantage of the force, number, and courage of his legions, but on the contrary put his whole confidence in his fleet.

Such solid reasons as these would doubtless have made an impression upon Antony, if he had still been capable of judging for himself; but he saw nothing but by Cleopatra's eyes, nor determined upon any thing but according to her directions. This artful princess, who considered only her own interest, absolutely wanted a naval engagement, never minding what might be the most effectual means to render Antony victorious, but how to procure a speedy and safe flight in case of bad success.

Oras. vi.
10.

It was then resolved that they should prepare themselves for a sea-fight, and as the number of Antony's sailors and rowers were far from being sufficient for his number of vessels, he picked out as many of the best ships as he could well man, and burnt all the rest. Thus his fleet was reduced to 170 vessels, and even these were not compleatly equipp'd. And after adding Cleopatra's 60 galleys, he was still inferior to the enemy, who had 260 vessels; but as his were larger and loftier built, he reckon'd that advantage would make up for the deficiency in the number. He embarked on board this fleet twenty thousand legionary soldiers and two thousand archers, taking care to cause the most illustrious of those who were with him to go

go on board, in order that it might be more difficult to go over to the enemy, in case they should be tempted to imitate the example which several had set before them.

A. R. 721.
Ant. C. 31.

It is related, that during the embarkation an old Centurion who had always been firmly attached to Antony, and having fought for him, and under his eye on a great many occasions, was almost covered with scars, when he saw him approach, burst into tears, and spoke to him as follows. “ My general, why do you
“ despise these wounds which I have received
“ in fighting in obedience to your orders, and
“ this sword which has served you so faithfully, and place your confidence in a frail
“ piece of wood? Leave the Egyptians and
“ Phoenicians to combat by sea, but as for us
“ Romans, the land is our element. Give us
“ the land on which we are accustomed to
“ fight resolutely, ready to vanquish, or to
“ die.” Antony made no reply to this, but putting on an air of serenity, made a sign with his hand to the officer to have good courage, and went away to inspect the embarkation.

He recommended to this officer an assurance which he had not himself, and they remark’d that when the pilots wanted to leave the sails on shoar, the oars being sufficient for the fight, he ordered them to be carried on board, under a pretence that they must not suffer any of the enemy to escape by flight.

Octavius on his side prepared for the engagement, being very sensible of the advantage which the enemy gave him, by offering him battle by sea. But notwithstanding the desire of the two generals to engage, the stormy weather prevented them for the space of four days.

*The battle
of Actium.*

48 OCTAVIUS III. and CORVINUS, Consuls.

A. R. 721.
Ant. C. 31.

days. At last, the fifth day, which was the second of *September*, happening to be clear, serene, and very calm, gave the two generals an opportunity of determining which of them should remain master of the universe.

Antony ranged his fleet before the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia; giving the command of the right-wing to Gellius Publicola, that of the left to Sosius, and trusting the centre to M. Octavius and M. Insteius. The post he reserved to himself was to go about from one place to another, wherever his presence should be necessary. Pliny relates, that while he distributed his orders, a small fish, called a Remora, stopt his vessel, and obliged him to go into another. This magical virtue of a small fish to render motionless a vessel agitated by the winds, waves and oars, has long ago been justly deemed fabulous.

Plin.

xxxii. 1.

Octavius, gaining the sea, drew up his fleet opposite to that of Antony. His lieutenant-generals were M. Lurius on the right, L. Arruntius on the left, both under Agrippa, who commanded in chief, and upon whom the whole action entirely depended. The Consul Messala had also a command in this fleet, but it is not certain what it was. As to Octavius himself, surrounded by a number of little boats appointed to carry his orders, after the manner of aid-de-camps, his post, as well as that of Antony, was to inspect the whole.

The two land armies, simple spectators of the engagement, were drawn up upon the sides of the gulph; that of Antony commanded by Canidius, and that of Octavius by Statilius Taurus, encouraging the two fleets which were going to engage.

Altho' Antony offered battle, he had no in-^{A. R. 721,}
 tention to be the first who attacked. He had^{Ant. C. 31.}
 recommended to those who had the working
 of the vessels to wait for the enemy, without
 making the least motion, guarding themselves
 against the rocks and shallows in a narrow sea,
 and hard upon the shoar; and the soldiers had
 orders to fight as if they were on firm ground,
 and to look upon their vessels as citadels, which
 they were to defend against a number of be-
 siegers.

Octavius surveying the several divisions of
 his army, as soon as he was arrived at the
 right wing, observed with surprize the tran-
 quillity of Antony's fleet, for at a distance it
 appeared as if it was riding at anchor. He
 did not judge it proper to advance to the
 enemy, lying so near the shoar, where the
 nimbleness of his vessels and the skill of his
 seamen would have been but of little advan-
 tage, but contented himself with remaining in
 his station at the distance of a mile.

This inaction of the two fleets continued till
 noon, at which time a gale springing up, An-
 tony's officers and soldiers, impatient at a de-
 lay which exasperated their courage, and trust-
 ing to the largeness and strength of their ships,
 made a motion with the left wing towards the
 enemy. Octavius was extremely well pleased
 at this, and to allow them more room to move
 farther from the shoar, he ordered his right
 to fall back towards the ocean, in order that
 his vessels, which worked very well, might
 have sufficient room to attack advantageously
 the heavy ships of Antony, which both by
 their weight and being ill equipped, moved
 very slowly and with great difficulty.

A. R. 721.
A. D. C. 31.

* *Eperons*
d'airain.

Presently they approached each other and began the combat: but their manner of fighting did not at all resemble a naval engagement, such as was known and practised by the ancients; for the prows of their vessels were a kind of offensive arms, being set thick with a kind of strong * pikes of brass. They ran furiously against each other with their heads, or, which was still a better method, they directed them against the side of the enemy's vessel, in order to split it, and make it spring a leak so as to sink it. But here there was no shock of vessel against vessel; those of Antony were too heavy to be pushed with violence, upon which the force of the shock depended; and those of Octavius, being small and light, avoided the pikes of the enemy; but on the other hand, if they attempted to hurt the sides of these large heavy vessels, as the timber of them was hard, thick, and bound with cramps of iron, frequently the point of the pike which gave the blow was either bent or broke.

Thus they fought in the manner of a land engagement, or, to speak more properly, like assaults on fortresses; for three or four of Octavius's vessels surrounded one of Antony's, and the combatants made use of pikes, bucklers, long poles shod with iron, and fire pots. And on Antony's side, as the poops of their vessels had wooden towers raised on them, they made use of catapultæ, or machines for throwing arrows.

While they fought thus on the right, Agrippa stretched out his left, in order to surround the enemy. Publicola, who was stationed against him, was obliged to do the same, and in spreading out his vessels, he was separated gradually

gradually from the centre, which began to be put in disorder. Hitherto the advantage was not determined to either side, when all of a sudden they perceived sixty of Cleopatra's vessels begin to fly, and disturb those who were fighting, having their sails set, and making the best of their way towards Peloponnesus. Without doubt fear had seized this princess, who had every thing prepared before, and as if she had come to the engagement only in order to fly, had taken care to put every thing valuable which she had on board.

There was nothing very surprizing in that behaviour of Cleopatra; but Antony's conduct on this occasion is quite inconceiveable. It is not possible, says Plutarch, to discover in it either the General, or the man of courage and conduct. He seemed even to have lost the power of following his own inclinations, and verified what is commonly said of lovers, viz. that their soul dwells entirely in the person whom they love. In the same manner, as if he had been Cleopatra's shadow, and obliged to obey all her motions, he no sooner saw the vessel which she was on board run away, than, forgetting every thing, and betraying those who fought and actually died for him, he went into a galley having five rows of oars, accompanied only with two of his friends, Alexan-

An. R. 721.
Ant. C. 31.

The flight
of Cleopa-
tra.

Antony
follows
her.

Ἐνθα δὲ φανερόν αὐτὸν Ἀν-
τώνιος ἐποίησεν, ὅτε ἄρχοντος,
ὅτε ἀνδρός, ὅτε ὅλως ἰδίοις λο-
γισμοῖς διοικήμενος· ἀλλ'
ὅπερ τις παίζων εἶπε τὴν ψυ-
χὴν τῷ ἐρῶντος ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ
τώματι ζῆν, ἐλκόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς
γυναικὸς, ὥσπερ συμπεφυκὼς
καὶ συμμεταφερόμενος. Οὐ γὰρ

ἔφθη τὴν ἐκείνης ἰδὼν ναῦν ἀπο-
πλέυσαν, καὶ πάντων ἐκλαθόμε-
νος, καὶ προδὲς καὶ ἀποδράς τῆς
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μαχομένης καὶ θνή-
σκοντας, εἰς πεντήρη μέτεμ-
βας . . . ἐδίωκε τὴν ἀπολῶ-
λυϊαν ἤδη καὶ προαπόλυσεν
αὐτόν.

AN. R. 721.
ANT. C. 31.

der of Syria, and a Roman named ^f Scellius, and followed her who had ruined both herself and him. Cleopatra observing him, caused the pavilion of her vessel to be hoisted up. He went on board of it without seeing her, or being seen by her. She was on the poop, and he went to the prow, where he remained alone, holding his head between his hands.

*The wife-
ry of Oc-
tavius.*

Mean while the soldiers fought with a courage worthy of admiration. It is true, that at first there were only a few of them who observed it; but Octavius did not suffer them to be ignorant of it long, and went from vessel to vessel asking them for whom they fought so obstinately. Their attachment to their general, and the love of glory, was so strongly impress'd in the hearts of those brave men, that they would not receive the quarters which were offered them, till at last the sea beginning to run very high, and to shatter their vessels, fatigued with resisting at once the enemy, winds, and waves, they submitted to the conqueror towards the tenth hour of the day. The number of the dead did not exceed five thousand; and the whole number of vessels which were taken amounted to three hundred.

*Antony's
land for-
ces, after a
delay of se-
ven days,
submit to
the conque-
ror.*

There remained however unconquered Antony's land-army, which, by the number and valour of the troops which composed it, was still able to give Octavius a great deal of employment. Neither the officers nor soldiers of that army would believe for some time what was told them of Antony's flight. They could

^f This name is not known. *tutes for it Lucilius, who*
The English editor by a proba- was mentioned before, and
ble enough conjecture substi- will be mentioned hereafter.

not conceive it possible that their general had abandoned nineteen legions of invincible infantry, and twelve thousand horse, as if he had not before a thousand times tried the vicissitudes of fortune, and his valour had not been exercised and fortified by an infinite variety of good and bad success. They therefore imagined that Antony would appear again on a sudden, at a time when he was least expected. However, after some days, they were certainly persuaded of the truth of a fact which appeared so incredible, upon Antony's sending from Tænarus, where he had stopped, an order to Canidius to bring his legions by way of Macedonia into Asia. They continued firm, therefore, in rejecting the solicitations of Octavius, who pressed them to surrender, and put themselves in march. At last Canidius himself having fled during the night, that unfortunate army, in want of every thing, and deserted by its chiefs, yielded to necessity, and went over to Octavius the seventh day after the battle.

The conqueror Octavius passed the night on board, not having day-light sufficient to get on shore after the battle was ended. His first care was to send away Mæcenas with a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra; but they had got the start of him greatly, so that Mæcenas speedily returned, and set out immediately for Rome, in order to take upon him the office of Prefect of the city and of all Italy.

After Antony's legions had submitted to Octavius, there was nothing, one would imagine, to hinder him from pursuing with all possible diligence his vanquished enemy. In this he would have imitated the example of his

An. R. 721.
Ant. C. 31.

Mæcenas,
who was
dispatched
in pursuit
of Antony,
returns
and sets
out for
Rome. Su-
et. aug.
17.

Pedo. al-
bi. nov.
in Mæ-
cen. obi-
tum.

Ab. R. 721. great uncle, who, after the battle of Pharsalia, made a main point of pursuing Pompey very briskly, not allowing him time to recover himself. But Octavius was far from being so active in war as the dictator Cæsar. On the contrary, he esteemed nothing so much as circumspection. He had always in his mouth the Greek proverb, *make haste slowly*, and frequently quoted a verse, the sense of which runs thus, “that a cautious general is preferable to a rash one.” He was doubtless persuaded on this occasion that Antony was reduced to such a low pass, that a delay of some months could not give him an opportunity of recovering himself, and he began with taking care of objects that were nearer, and in themselves very important.

He returns
thanks to
Apollo.
Dio. L. li.

The first thing he did was to return thanks to Apollo, his tutelar God, who had always been worshipped on the promontory of Actium; and he consecrated to him the first fruits of his victory, that is, a vessel of each kind, picked out of those which had been taken from Antony, from three rows of oars to ten.

The precautions
which he
takes with
regard to
the troops.

He next turned his attention to the great number of troops with which he saw himself surrounded. He remembered into what danger he had been put by forty-five legions which were united in Sicily, after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius, and the forced abdication of Lepidus. In a similar case he justly apprehended a similar effect, from that boldness with

* Nihil minus in perfectio ille jactabit.
duce, quàm festinationem Σπεῦδε θρασέως, & Ἀσφα-
temeritatemque, convenire λής γὰρ ἐς ἀμείνων, ἢ θρασὺς
arbitrabatur. Crebrò itaque στρατηλάτης. *Sut. Aug. 25.*

which

which soldiers are naturally inspired by the greatness of their number, and of their strength. He therefore judged it necessary, in the first place, to divide Antony's army. He gave leave to the old soldiers to depart, and incorporated the rest into his own legions. He would not even keep his own troops all together, but sent away, as quick as possible, the veterans into Italy, there to expect the rewards which had been promised, keeping none about him but such as had not finished their time of service.

He had reason to expect submission from these last. The hopes of a rich spoil which they promised themselves in Egypt was a powerful motive to preserve their fidelity. But he was uneasy with regard to those whom he had sent into Italy, and who being eager for those rewards which they thought they had merited by their long services, and which he was not in a condition to pay them at that time, might be exasperated at the delay, and occasion some commotions. In this situation he thought it proper to give satisfaction to the people of Italy, who were oppressed with taxes, which the necessity of the war obliged him to exact, for fear there should still remain among them some seeds of discord, which might occasion and keep up a mutiny among his troops. He therefore ordered all the new taxes to be taken off; and the freed people in particular, who were a quarter in arrears, were excused from paying it. This remittance was received very gratefully, and gained him the affections of all the people.

Another precaution which he took was to send Agrippa into Italy. Mæcenas was there already,

An. R. 721.
Ant. C. 31.

already, and Octavius had great confidence in his capacity ; but as this minister chose to remain in the order of knights, he had not that splendor of titles which imposes upon the multitude. Agrippa therefore, who was adorned with the greatest honours, was more likely to be respected.

*His clemency
with re-
gard to
the con-
quered
troops.*

Among other cares of Octavius after the victory, one of the principal had for its object the prayers of the vanquished, who ran to him in crowds imploring his mercy, earnest to know their fate. It may be said in general that he did honour to his good fortune, by the clemency with which he made use of it. Neither the kings nor their subjects, who had served in Antony's cause, experienced any cruelty from the conqueror. He contented himself with imposing fines and taxes on the people, and depriving those princes who had bore arms against him of their estates ; but he did not suffer any blood to be shed. Alexander alone, the accuser of his brother Jamblicus, and enriched by Antony with the spoils of unfortunate people, appeared unworthy of a pardon. Octavius kept him prisoner till his triumph, where he was led in chains, and afterwards beheaded.

Vell. II.
85.

With regard to the illustrious Romans, partizans of Antony, some of them were punished with death, and amongst the rest Curio, the son of the famous Curio, who was killed in fighting for Cæsar in Africa. But Octavius pardoned the greatest number of them. Sosius, who was a long time concealed by his faithful friend Arruntius, obtained a pardon at last by means of his intercession. M. Scaurus, a brother of Sextus Pompeius by the mother, was saved by the prayers of his mother Mucia.

Furnius's pardon was granted at the solicitation of his son, of whom they report a very memorable expression on this occasion. " " Cæsar, says he, this is the only cause you have ever given me to complain ; you have reduced me to live and die ungrateful." A fine example of filial piety, and at the same time a flattering compliment to Octavius. This young and merciful conqueror was pleased to see his clemency esteemed above his power.

He discovered upon another occasion how sensible he was of the force and merit of the prayers of a son interceding for his father. While he was at Samos, advancing towards Syria and Egypt, he held a council to examine the causes of the prisoners which had been engaged in Antony's party. Among the rest there was brought before him an old man, named Metellus, oppressed with years and infirmity, disfigured with a long beard, and a neglected head of hair, but especially by his cloaths which by his ill fortune were become very ragged. The son of this Metellus was one of the judges, and he had great difficulty of knowing his father in the deplorable condition in which he saw him. At last however having recollected his features, he ran to embrace him, crying very bitterly. Afterwards returning towards the tribunal, " Cæsar, says he, my father has been your enemy, and I your officer. He deserves to be punished, and I to be rewarded. The favour I desire of you is either to save him on my account,

A. R. 721.
Adt. C. 31.

*Metellus
is saved by
the intreaties of his
son.*

" Hanc unam, Cæsar, habeo injuriam tuam. Effecisti ut viverem & morerer ingratus. *Sen. de. benef. II.* 25.

" or

A. R. 721. "or to order me to be put to death with
 Aul. C. 32. "him." All the judges were touched with
 compassion at this. Octavius himself relented,
 and granted to old Metellus his life and liberty,
 tho' he had reason to look upon him as his im-
 placable enemy, and one that bore very great
 malice towards him.

*A singular
 adventure
 of Marcus
 and Bar-
 bula.*

The adventure of Barbula, which, as well
 as the preceding, has been handed down to us
 by Appian, has something in it that is very ex-
 traordinary. Barbula, an old friend of Anto-
 ny's, and one who had served him at the battle
 of Philippi, purchased after that battle one of
 the proscribed, who had disguised himself like
 a slave, in order to save his life. This pretend-
 ed slave, whom the Greek author calls by the
 name of Marcus, being employed by his ma-
 ster in different offices, acquitted himself with
 an address and probity which discovered his
 condition. Barbula wanted to draw the secret
 out of him, promising that if he was among the
 number of the proscribed, he would cause his
 name to be rased out of the fatal list. Marcus
 continued firm in concealing his story, and fol-
 lowed his master to Rome. There he was
 known by one of Barbula's friends; and his
 master, in pursuance of his promise, by means
 of the interest which he had with Agrippa, ob-
 tained Marcus's pardon, who in consequence
 attached himself to Octavius. Several years
 after this happened the battle of Actium, in
 which Marcus and Barbula were still on diffe-
 rent sides, the former fighting for Octavius,
 and the latter for Antony. After the battle,
 the scene between them was renewed, but in a
 contrary sense. Barbula could not contrive a
 better method of saving his life, than by dis-

guising himself like a slave. Marcus purcha-
 sed him, pretending he did not know him, and
 employed the influence he had on Octavius to
 save, in his turn, the person who had been be-
 fore his deliverer. Appian adds, as the last
 circumstance in which their fortunes resembled
 each other, that, some time after, they were
 companions in the Consulship, that is, deputed
 Consuls, for their names are not found in the
 list of the ordinary ones.

All these instances of generosity and good
 nature greatly augmented Octavius's glory.
 But we must not thence conclude, with Vel-
 leius, that the cruelties, which he committed at
 the beginning of his Triumvirship, and after
 the battle of Philippi, were all forced, and that
 the blame of them ought not to fall upon him,
 but upon his colleagues. All the historical re-
 cords bear witness, that he was more violently
 and obstinately inclined that way than either of
 the other two. His different conduct after
 the battle of Actium proceeded from the dif-
 ference of the conjunctures. At the time of
 this last battle, all the heads of the republican
 party were destroy'd, and he had reason to
 hope that the partizans of Antony, who were
 accustomed to serve one master, would easily
 submit to the laws of another, who should bet-
 ter deserve their affection, which he principally
 studied.

As soon as Octavius had regulated those af-
 fairs at Athens which demanded dispatch, he
 came by sea to Athens; and, far from male-
 treating Greece for having assisted his enemy,
 he relieved the misery of the people by distri-
 buting among them the provisions which re-
 mained after the war. They stood greatly in
 need

A. R. 728.
 Ant. C. 38.

The mo-
 tives of
 Octavius's
 clemency.
 Vell. II.
 66.

He arrives
 at Athens,
 and re-
 lieves
 Greece.
 Dio &
 Plut. An-
 ton.

A. R. 727 need of them, for the country had been pil-
 Ant. C. 31. laged in a terrible manner, by taking from
 them provisions, men, and cattle.

We may judge of the manner in which Greece in general had been harassed, by the account which Plutarch gives of it, taken from his great uncle, with regard to the town of Chersonesus. He says that all the inhabitants had been obliged to carry upon their shoulders a certain measure of grain as far as Anticyrus on the gulf of Corinth, and were drove along with whips. They had performed this once, and were ready to set out the second time, when the news of Antony's defeat arrived. This was the saving of that unfortunate town. Antony's soldiers and superintendants fled, and the inhabitants shared the corn among themselves.

A mutiny among his veteran soldiers in Italy. Dic. From Athens Octavius passed into Asia, and prepared to advance, when he received advice that his veterans in Italy could not be kept in subjection, and that there were commotions among them which threatened a revolt. Agrippa sent couriers after couriers to him on this subject, pressing him to return, as his presence was absolutely necessary. It was then winter, and Octavius had taken possession of the Consulship for the fourth time, in which he chose for his colleague Marcus Crassus, son of the famous Crassus, and, if we may believe Dio, formerly attached to the party of Sextus Pompeius, and afterwards to that of Antony.

C. JULIUS

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIUS, IV.

A. R. 722.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Ant. C. 30.

Octavius set sail notwithstanding the dangers *He goes* of the seas during this stormy season. In his *thither, and* voyage he was twice overtaken by a storm, in *quiets the* which he lost several of his vessels. The one *mutineers.* he was in himself was shattered, and her rudder broken to pieces. At last he arrived safe *Suet. Aug.* at Brundisium; where he was met by all the *17.* Senators, Knights, and Magistrates, excepting *Dio.* two Prætors, and two Tribunes of the people, who were ordered by a decree to remain in the city, in order to keep it quiet. Rome had transported herself to Brundisium to acknowledge her master, the conqueror of so many enemies, remaining the last of such a number of competitors.

The mutineers were disconcerted by his arrival, and we learn from an expression of * Tacitus, that a single look of Octavius scattered terror among those legions, to whom he owed the victory of Actium. However, as their demands were reasonably founded, he partly complied with them, distributing money, and allotting lands to the oldest of the soldiers; but neither the circumstances of the times, nor the condition of his finances allowed him to discharge all that was due to them. In the mean time to make them sensible of his good intentions, he exposed to sale all his effects, and also those of his principal friends. You may easily believe that no body had the boldness to

* Divus Augustus vultu & aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit. *Tac. Ann. I. 42.*

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30. purchase any thing, and this was what Octavius had trusted to. But by this specious conduct he shut the mouths of the murmurers, and reduced them to wait with patience till he should be able to pay them all he had promised, which he afterwards did by means of the conquest of Egypt, and the treasure which he brought from thence.

He returns to Asia, and advances towards Egypt. These transactions took him up no more than thirty days, at the end of which he set out with all dispatch, in order to find his enemy, and put the last hand to his victory by finishing the destruction of Antony. Dio relates, that he wanted upon his return to avoid the Promontories of Peloponnesus, near which he had before been overtaken by a storm; and that in order to this he made them transport the vessels over the Isthmus of Corinth. These vessels must certainly have been very light, if such an operation could be executed easily. But, however it be with regard to this particular circumstance, Octavius very soon got back to Asia, whence he advanced towards Egypt with his victorious troops.

Antony at that time was in Alexandria; but as he had not directed his flight directly thither, we must stop a little here, in order to give an account of his different movements.

§. II.

Continuation of Antony's adventures in his flight.

He stops at Paretonium. His deep melancholy. Cleopatra's arrival at Alexandria. She attempts to transport her fleet over the Isthmus of Suez into the Red-sea. Antony comes to her. Cleopatra's preparations to defend herself against

against the conqueror. Antony takes Timon the ^{A. R. 722.}
Misanthrope for his model. He relapses into ^{Ant. C. 30.}
 his pleasures. Trials which Cleopatra made of
 poisons and serpents. She endeavours to make
 herself be beloved by Octavius, who wants to
 impose upon her. Negotiations between them.
 Antony's suspicions of Cleopatra. She obliges
 him to shake them off. Antony's unfortunate
 expedition on the coast of Paretonium. The in-
 credible zeal of a company of gladiators who
 fly to his defence. Herod presents himself be-
 fore Octavius at Rhodes. His noble sentiments.
 He obtains his pardon. Alexas, who betrayed
 Antony, is put to death by Octavius. Octavius
 passing through Judea is magnificently entertain-
 ed, and assisted by Herod. Pelusium delivered
 up to Octavius by the treachery of Cleopatra.
 She causes every thing which was valuable in
 her palace to be carried to her tomb. Octavius
 approaches Alexandria. Antony's last efforts.
 Betrayed and vanquished he returns to Alex-
 andria. Cleopatra shuts herself up in her tomb,
 and causes Antony to be informed that she was
 dead. He stabs himself. Having heard that
 she was still alive, he makes them carry him to
 her. He dies in her arms. Octavius sheds tears
 at hearing of his death. Cleopatra is taken
 alive. Octavius enters Alexandria hand in hand
 with the philosopher Areus. Antyllus and
 Cæsario put to death. Antony's funeral. Cleo-
 patra wants to kill herself, but is restrained
 from it by the fear of thereby occasioning the
 death of her children. Octavius comes to visit
 her. She is informed that she must quit that
 place in three days. She goes to offer libations
 at Antony's tomb. Her death. A represen-
 tation of her life and character. The character
 of

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

of Antony. Cicero's son, who was Consul, brands the memory of Antony by a decree of the Senate. The posterity of Antony. Cassius of Perma, Canidius, and the Senator Ovinus put to death by Octavius. Octavius declares that he has burnt Antony's papers; but nevertheless keeps a part of them. His conduct with regard to the children of the princes of the East, which were found at Alexandria. Immense riches carried by Octavius out of Egypt. Singular precautions which he takes with regard to the government of that province. The happiness of Egypt under the Roman government. Octavius visits Alexander's tomb. He leaves Egypt and passes the winter in Asia. Domestic troubles among the Parthians. A conspiracy of young Lepidus rendered abortive by Mæcenat. Servilia follows young Lepidus her husband to his tomb. Old Lepidus supplicating before a Consul, who had formerly been proscribed. Honours decreed to Octavius by the Senate. New privileges conferred upon him. They rank him among the number of the Gods. The motives of his yielding to receive all these honours, especially the last. He suffers them in the provinces to erect temples to his father and to him. The temple of Janus is shut up. The augur of safety is renewed. The triumphs of Octavius. The admirable generosity of the sons of Adjatrix. Octavius's triumphs are beheld with a sincere joy. His munificence. The triumphs of Carrinas and Autronius Pætus. Dedications of temples and other publick buildings. Feasts and rejoicings. The Trojan games. Octavius's indisposition. He erects monuments of his victory, at Actium, and in Egypt. The methods which Octavius took to rise to the sovereignty of the empire,

*empire, considered in a double light. Jesus A. R. 722.
Christ and his church the end of all events. Ant. C. 30.*

SOON after Antony was received on board Cleopatra's galley, he observed that he was pursued by some vessels detached from Octavius's fleet. Upon which he tacked about and presented the prow to his enemies, most part of whom left him. There was only one, who appeared much exasperated, shaking a pike which he had in his hand, ready to dart at him. "Who are you?" said the fugitive general to the captain of the vessel: And why are you obstinate in pursuing Antony? The captain answered, I am Euricles the Lacedæmonian, who, assisted by Cæsar's good fortune, seek to revenge my father's death upon you." For Antony had condemned to death the father of Euricles, on account of plunders and robberies which he had committed. However, the Lacedæmonian turned about; and instead of attacking the vessel which Antony was in, he fell upon the other admiral galley; for Antony had two of them. He gave it a violent blow on the side with the beak of his vessel, which made it recoil, and presently took it, together with another vessel which was loaden with rich moveables, after which he left them. After this Antony went again into the cabin, and putting himself into the same attitude out of which Euricles had roused him, he plunged himself anew into melancholy reflections.

In this manner he passed three whole days, during which, either thro' indignation, or shame, he neither saw nor spoke to Cleopatra. At last when they were arrived at the Promon-

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30. tory of Tenarus, the queen's waiting women, who were extremely well qualified for an office of this kind, reconciled them, and every thing went on as before.

There they were joined by a good number of store-ships, and by some of their friends who had escaped from the battle, who informed him that the fleet was entirely ruined, but they believed the land-army was still in a good condition. Antony then sent orders to Canidius, as I said above, to conduct his legions by Macedonia into Asia; but such an order could never supply the place of his presence, and we have seen before that it was not executed.

As to himself he prepared to go into Libya, and preserving in his misfortunes all his magnificence and generosity, he picked out a vessel laden with a great many things of value, both plate, vessels of gold, and also money, and gave it to his friends, desiring them to share his riches among them, and take care of themselves. They for some time refused with tears in their eyes, and wanted to follow him; but he comforted them with an admirable sweetness and good-nature, and joining entreaties to his advice, he sent them away to Theophilus, his steward, who was at Corinth, to whom he wrote to take care of them, and conceal them till they should be able to make their peace with Cæsar.

*He sets
at Pareto-
nium. His
deep melan-
choly.
D'o. and
Plot.* He afterwards set out with Cleopatra, and after their arrival at Paretonium, a town of Egypt, the frontier of Cyrenaicum, they separated from each other. The queen went to Alexandria, leaving Antony to that solitude which his bitter melancholy made him desire. There

There he enjoyed it at large, seeing no body, continually ruminating on his misfortunes, without any other company than Aristocrates, the Greek orator, and his incomparable friend Lucilius, who was as faithful to him in his misfortunes, as he had formerly been to Brutus in the like circumstances.

Antony's intention in remaining some time in the neighbourhood of Cyrenaicum, was not confined entirely to the indulging that melancholy which had got the mastery of him. In this country he had troops commanded by Pinarius Scarpus, and he attempted to assemble them about his person. But this officer changed his party with fortune. He declared himself for the conqueror, and having put to death the couriers which Antony sent to him, and also some soldiers who spoke loud in favour of their general, he delivered Cyrene, and the four legions which he had under his command, to Gallus, Octavius's friend and lieutenant. Antony was so provoked at this infidelity, that he wanted to kill himself; but his friends prevented it, and conducted him to Alexandria.

There he found Cleopatra employed in trying the last efforts, either to overcome or fly from her misfortunes. She imagined that she should be obliged to use a stratagem in order to get into her capital. Knowing the fickleness of the Alexandrians, and how little she deserved their esteem and affection, she suspected that if they were informed of her misfortune, they would shut the gates against her; and for this reason she wanted to persuade them that she returned victorious. She caused therefore her vessels to be crowned with garlands, and the flutes and fifes to play airs of triumphs.

68 OCTAVIUS IV. and CRASSUS, Consuls.

A.R. 722. At the head of this fleet was rowed her own
A. C. 30. galley, adorned with gildings, and sails of purple. In this manner she entered without difficulty, and presently made the Alexandrians repent their having received her; for she put to death several of the principal lords of the court, who had long hated her, and after the news of the battle of Actium had proclaimed their discontent without reserve. She confiscated the goods of those which she had put to death, plundered those whom she left alive, and even pillaged the temples, carrying off all their riches.

She attempts to transport her fleet over the Isthmus of Suez into the Red-sea. Her intention in those rapines was to amass treasure, in order to raise and keep up troops for her defence; but she saw that the forces of Egypt were unable to resist those of the Roman empire united against them. Flight therefore seemed to offer a more certain refuge, and she formed a very singular and unheard of project, to convey her whole fleet over the Isthmus of Suez into the Red-sea, and thereby save herself in another world with all her treasures. Some of her vessels were actually transported thither; but the Arabians having burnt them, Antony, who arrived at that time, and believed that his land army was still faithful to him, persuaded Cleopatra to abandon her design, which was so full of difficulties, and endeavour to defend the avenues of Egypt by sea and land.

Antony comes to her. Preparations of Cleopatra to defend herself against the conqueror. Cleopatra omitted nothing in her power in order to put this advice in practice. She had a strong desire of escaping the danger she was in, and she did not despair of it. Thus she made all kinds of preparations for war, hoping at least that thereby she should certainly obtain

tain

tain better terms from Octavius. She also solicited foreign assistance, addressing herself to all the princes whom she expected would help her; and it was then to make up matters with the king of the Medes in particular, that she caused Artabazes king of Armenia, his enemy, to be put to death, and even sent him his head.

Mean while Antony, who was a constant prey to melancholy, shagreened at every object that he saw, having still a more melancholy prospect before him, and meeting with nothing but continual infidelity and desertions, one after another, of those who had testified the strongest attachment to him, quitted the town and all his friends, and shut himself up in a small solitary house, which he had caused to be built in haste upon a mole in the sea, near the island of Pharos. There he passed some time, shunning the commerce of mankind, giving out, that he took for his model Timon the Misanthrope; that being ill treated, like that Athenian, by the ingratitude and perfidy of his friends, he wanted, like him, to renounce all commerce with mankind.

But he soon grew weary of this way of living, so little conformable to his character, and the same reasons which had made him embrace it, made him also abandon it. Canidius arrived at Alexandria, to inform him in person of the revolt of the army which was under his command. He likewise received advice, that Didius, whom he had made governor of Syria, declared himself against him; that Herod, as we shall presently see more at large, had submitted to Octavius, and that all the other neighbouring kings and princes, to whom

A. R. 722. Cleopatra had sent to demand assistance, re-
 ANT. C. 30. fused to join themselves to the side of the un-
 fortunate party. Such disagreeable news, which
 one might naturally imagine would have quite
 sunk Antony, set him perfectly at ease; for in
 losing hope he lost disquiet, and was happy
 in some measure for his misfortune's being so
 desperate, seeing it was needless to look out
He relapses for means to remedy it. Thus he quitted his
into his melancholy retreat, returned to town, and
pleasures. plunged himself anew into pleasures, games,
 and diversions.

He took occasion for this from the entry of
 Cæsario and Antyllus, his eldest sons, to the age
 of Puberty. It was a custom among the antients,
 both Greeks and Romans, to celebrate by re-
 joicings this passing from infancy to an age
 where they began to be accounted a part of the
 Republic. Antony gave on account of Cæsario
 and Antyllus, who were then between sixteen
 and seventeen years of age, feasts to the Alex-
 andrians, and there was nothing but entertain-
 ments, balls and concerts, for several days, all
 over the city. He thought to strengthen his
 interest, by showing two successors, who were
 already in a condition to supply his place and
 revenge him; but this precaution was of no
 use to him, and proved fatal to the two youths,
 who would have found more security under
 the robe of infancy.

I have mentioned elsewhere, a society esta-
 blished by Antony and Cleopatra at the begin-
 ning of their acquaintance, under the title of
the inimitable Life. At the time I now speak
 of they abolished this first society, and formed
 a new one, which they called, *An Engagement to*
die together. Their friends subscribed their
 names

names upon a scroll, as if they were resolved to die with them, and they prepared themselves for death by all the amusements capable of banishing it from their thoughts, by pleasures, extravagant expences, and excessive intemperance.

In the midst of all these diversions Cleopatra seriously employed herself to find means of procuring a death equally quick and pleasant, in case she should at last be reduced to that extremity. She made experiments of all kinds of poisons upon criminals, but she observed that those which killed suddenly caused violent pains, and those which were more gentle in their effect operated but slowly. She then had recourse to serpents, presiding always in person at these experiments, observing very curiously their phænomena and effects. Plutarch assures us that the asp was the only one that she found, whose sting caused such a death as she wanted, without convulsions, or plaintive moanings. A gentle moisture bedewed the face, the senses became obliterated, and an excessive heaviness oppressed the whole body, which could hardly endure to be stirred or shaken, like those who are buried in a very sound sleep. She contented herself with this; but as her last resource, which she intended only to apply to when all others failed her.

She had never had a true and sincere love for Antony, and we may very well imagine that she would hardly begin to love him now, when he was become so unfortunate; and if she could have fallen upon any method of saving herself without him, or even at his expence, there is no question but she would have done it with joy.

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

Trials which Cleopatra made of poisons and serpents.

She endeavours to make herself be loved by Octavius, who wants to impose upon her.

A. R. 722. Her plan was to try to make Octavius fall in
 Ant. C. 30. love with her; for altho' she was older than he,
 her charms were not decayed. She was not
 yet arrived at the age of forty, and with the
 address she had acquired in the art of pleasing,
 after having captivated the son of Pompey, the
 great Cæsar, and Antony, she flattered herself
 with adding to so many conquests, that of her
 young vanquisher.

But she attacked a man who was constantly
 upon his guard, very artful, and one whose
 passion never made him commit a fault con-
 trary to his interest. He diverted himself with
 Cleopatra's artifices, laying snares for her in
 his turn, and designed if possible to get rid of
 Antony by her means, and afterwards make
 himself master of her kingdom, treasures, and
 person. We ought never to lose sight of this
 double scheme of Octavius and Cleopatra, and
 of their whole conduct with regard to one
 another.

*Negotia-
 tions be-
 tween
 them.*

Thus in three embassies which were sent
 one after another, to Octavius in Asia, by An-
 tony and Cleopatra conjointly, the queen had
 always her secret agents, charged with par-
 ticular proposals in her name. Antony desired
 no more than that his life might be saved, and to
 have the liberty of passing the remainder of his
 days in obscurity, and in a private manner at
 Athens, provided the conqueror would not
 consent to let him remain in Egypt. Cleo-
 patra demanded publicly for her children,
 their father's kingdom to be confirmed to them;
 but privately she caused to be delivered to Oc-
 tavius her scepter, crown, and royal throne, as
 tho' she gave up her pretensions to royalty
 entirely to him. Octavius returned no answer
 to

to Antony. With regard to Cleopatra, he threatened in publick to grant her no quarter; unless she laid down her arms and renounced her throne; but in private he gave her hopes of the best of treatment, provided she sent away Antony, or put him to death.

An. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

Such was the constant conduct of Octavius. Always inexorable towards Antony, he tried to allure Cleopatra with hopes. He accepted of every thing which his enemy sent. Antony in order to soften him sent him gold, and the Senator Turulius, one of those who had conspired against Cæsar, under a strong guard. Octavius accepted the gold, and put Turulius to death. But he abated nothing of his rigor against Antony, and gave only ambiguous answers, which were not at all binding. Cleopatra too on her part imposed upon Antony, and did all in her power to deceive Octavius. Antony alone acted with sincerity, and went so far as to offer to kill himself, provided the queen might be spared, at the same time that that princess was hearkening to propositions for betraying him, and even of putting him to death.

When I say that Antony acted with sincerity, I mean only with regard to Cleopatra; for as to his conduct to Octavius, it was full of treachery, if it be true what Dio reports, that the ambassadors whom he sent to negotiate with him, carried large sums destined to debauch his troops, or even to bribe villains to assassinate him.

Cleopatra's intelligence with Octavius appeared by the good reception which she gave to Thyrsus, a freedman of that general, who was sent by him to the queen, in order to persuade

An. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

*Antony's
suspicious
of Cleopatra.*

suade her that she was beloved by her vanquisher. Cleopatra, who wished for nothing so much, listened attentively to this discourse, and had long and familiar interviews with Thyrsus. So that Antony, though not at all naturally suspicious, was at last uneasy at it. He laid hold on Thyrsus, and after causing him to be whipped with rods, sent him back to his patron. He sent excuses however to Octavius for his behaviour, and wrote to him, that being disposed thro' his misfortunes to be easily exasperated, he could not suffer the insolence of a freedman, who affected to affront him ; “ But, added he, if you are
“ offended, you have it in your power to
“ avenge yourself. I deliver Hipparchus to
“ you, whom you may treat in the same manner as I have treated Thyrsus.” The revenge in this case would have been very singular, and entirely in favour of Antony ; for Hipparchus had deserted his party and gone over to the fortunate side.

*She obliges
him to
shake them
off.*

Cleopatra was alarmed at Antony's suspicions, and being so much the more capable of counterfeiting outward appearances, as she felt nothing within, she spared neither caresses, nor testimonies of deference and submission, in order to regain them. Her birth-day and that of Antony's happened to be near one another, and they fell out about the time I am now speaking of. She allowed her's to be passed over without being observed, agreeable to their unfortunate situation at that time ; but on the contrary, she celebrated that of Antony with such extraordinary magnificence and extravagant profusion, that a great number who came thither in a poor condition, were enriched for ever after.

Mean

Mean while the operations of the war were continued, altho' rather slowly. Gallus with the legions which Pinarius Scarpus had delivered up to him, took possession of Paretonium, which was the key of Egypt on the West side, as Pelusium was on the East. Antony, who had still considerable forces both by sea and land, wanted to take that important place from the enemy. He therefore marched towards it, flattering himself, that as soon as he should shew himself to Gallus's legions, 'who had formerly served under him, their affection for their antient general would be renewed. He approached therefore, and exhorted them to return to their first oath; but Gallus ordered all the trumpets to sound, in order to hinder Antony from being heard. He even sallied out upon him, and gained a small advantage over him.

An. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.
*Antony's
unfortu-
nate expe-
dition on
the coast of
Pareto-
nium.*

Antony's fleet suffered likewise a great misfortune. It had entered the port of Paretonium which Gallus left open on purpose, but had stretch'd chains below the water, which by help of certain machines were raised up immediately after the vessels were got in, and so blocked up the mouth of the harbour. Thus the fleet being caught as it were in a net, was presently attacked on all sides, both from the sea, the shoar, and the town itself. Antony lost a great many vessels in this unequal engagement, some being sunk, and others burnt, so that he saved but a very few.

This unfortunate expedition hindered Antony from reaping advantage of the assistance which was offered him by men of a mean station, but whose zeal and fidelity deserves no less to be commended. When he was abandoned

*Incredible
zeal of a
company
of gladi-
ators, to fly
to his de-
fence.*

AN. R. 722.
ANL. C. 30.

done by all the people of rank which used to be about him, so that for want of a person of distinction to confide in with regard to his embassies to Octavius, he was oblig'd to send Euphronius, his children's tutor, a company of gladiators, whom he caused to be exercised and equipped at Cyzicum, with a view to the games with which he proposed to celebrate his victory, shewed an incredible courage to fly to his defence. These gladiators marched over all Asia, in spite of the obstacles they met with from those princes and kings who had deserted Antony's party. After they were arrived in Syria, Didius, another deserter of the same cause, stopped their passage, but was not able to overcome them. They informed Antony of their situation and strong desire to serve him, intreating him to come and put himself at their head. But Antony preferred marching towards Paretonium, where he succeeded in the manner I have already related. Mean while the gladiators having received no answer from him, came at last to an agreement with Didius, upon condition that they should not be obliged to fight any more in the amphitheatre, but remain in the suburb of Antioch, called Daphne, till Octavius should be informed of all that had passed, and give orders concerning them. They were afterwards separated, and given to understand that they were to be incorporated into different legions; but all the intention was to disperse and destroy them. This generous behaviour, far above their station, certainly deserved a better recompence.

It appears to me that Octavius, I don't know for what reason, was in a great hurry to give the last blow to Antony. The historical records

records which we have of those times, give us A. R. 722. Ant. C. 30. insight into the motives of these delays. But Herod presents himself before Octavius at Rhodes. His noble sentiments. to pass over that, during his stay at Rhodes he received an illustrious deserter, who, by the freedom and dignity of his deportment, appears evidently worthy of being distinguished from the rest.

Herod, having received a great many favours Joseph. Antiq. xv. 10. & de Bel. Jud. i. 15. from Antony, attached himself to him out of gratitude; but when he saw him obstinate in his own destruction, he did not think he was obliged to ruin himself with him. He waited

on the conqueror in the manner of a suppliant, without his diadem, but very well supporting his dignity by his greatness of soul. Josephus puts the following speech into his mouth. “ Cæsar, says he, it was Antony who made
“ me king of the Jews, and I own that I have
“ employed that fortune which I owe to him
“ in his service. I am not afraid to own to
“ you, that if the war against the Arabians
“ had not hindered me, you should have seen
“ me fighting in person against you. How-
“ ever, I assisted him both with troops and
“ provisions to the utmost of my power.
“ Since the misfortune which happened to him
“ at Actium, I have not deserted my bene-
“ factor, and when I could be no longer an
“ useful ally to him, I performed the office of
“ a faithful counsellor. I have represented to
“ him, that the only method which remained
“ for him to recover his fall, was to put Cleo-
“ patra to death, and on this condition I offer-
“ ed him my riches, strong places, troops
“ and person, to assist in supporting the war
“ against you. But the charms of Cleopatra
“ have made Antony deaf to all my counsels,
“ and

A. R. 722. “ and God, who has been pleased to give you
 Ant. C. 30. “ the victory, has hindered him from heark-
 “ ening to such salutary advice. I am there-
 “ fore vanquished with my benefactor Antony,
 “ and my throne is overturned together with
 “ his fortune. I present myself now before
 “ you, without placing my hopes of safety in
 “ any thing but my virtue. I expect, how-
 “ ever, that you will consider what a friend I
 “ am, and not whom I have served.”

He obtains This bold and noble speech charmed Oc-
his pardon. tavius very much. He made Herod take back
 his diadem, confirmed him in the possession of
 his kingdom, and promised him his friendship.

Alexas, Herod having obtained pardon for himself,
who be- thought he had likewise some grounds to
trayed An- demand it for another. Alexas, or Alexander,
tony, is put of Laodicea in Syria, had been in a very con-
to death by siderable station at the court of Antony and
Crassus. Cleopatra, and none of the Grecians of his
Pist. time were more powerful than he. But he
 had not arrived at this power by honourable
 methods. He was Cleopatra's chief minister
 and tool, whom she made use of to captivate
 and subdue Antony, and to overturn every
 favourable opinion with regard to Octavius
 which reason suggested to him. Antony, who put
 great confidence in his parts and zeal, sent him
 from Alexandria to Herod, to endeavour to
 keep that prince attached to his party. But
 it is in vain for great men to promise them-
 selves fidelity from the ministers of their plea-
 sures. Alexas betrayed Antony, and remain-
 ed with Herod. He had even the assurance
 to present himself before Octavius, under the
 protection of the king of the Jews. But he
 was deceived in his hopes, for his offences

were of such a nature as not to admit of a pardon. Octavius caused him to be put in chains, and to be transported to the town of Laodicea, his native country, that he might there suffer death in sight of all his fellow-citizens. Thus Antony in his life-time was revenged of this traitor.

Herod returned with all speed to his kingdom, to put himself in a condition to receive Octavius, who was to march through his territories in his way towards Egypt. He received him very magnificently at Ptolemaidum, and gave a splendid entertainment to him and all his friends, to the number of one hundred and fifty, distributing wine and provisions to all his soldiers. He, besides, made a present to Octavius of eight hundred talents; and as upon the confines of Egypt there was a sandy desert, he sent thither great quantities of water for the use of the army. Herod, by this conduct, gave the Romans a very favourable opinion of him, and he appeared to have a soul greater than his kingdom.

Octavius continuing his march, arrived before Pelusium. This place, which was very strong by its situation, and besides was well garrison'd, might have stopped him a long while; but Seleucus, who was governor, had not the courage to defend it, or rather he had secret orders from Cleopatra to give it up. For that princess having lost all hopes of safety from Antony, and flattering herself with being beloved by Octavius, wanted to make a merit to the conqueror of her treachery towards him whose misfortunes she had occasioned. This event made Antony conceive suspicions of treachery, notwithstanding all his blindness.

An. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

Octavius passing thro' Judea, is magnificently entertained and assisted by Herod. Joseph.

Pelusium is delivered up to Octavius by the treachery of Cleopatra.

An. R. 712. blindnefs. But Cleopatra soon diffipated thefe,
Ant. C. 30 by delivering up the wife and children of Seleucus to his vengeance.

She caufes At the fame time ſhe cauſed them to carry to
everything a magnificent tomb which ſhe had ordered to be
which was erected, and in which there were a great many
valuable niches and little vaults, every thing which
in her pa- ~~was~~ valuable in her palace, as gold, ſilver,
lace to be precious ſtones, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon,
carried to laying over them a great quantity of dry
her tomb. wood, torches, and other combuſtibles. And
 declared openly, that in caſe ſhe was pushed to
 it, ſhe would deſtroy all thoſe riches by ſetting
 them on fire. She was not ignorant that Oc-
 tavius had a ſtrong deſire of becoming maſter
 of them, and ſhe was very glad to have two
 chances with him, ſo that in caſe love did not
 engage him to uſe her well, at leaſt the fear of
 loſing ſo great a treasure might force him to it.
 In effect, Octavius was touched with this me-
 nace, and, leſt deſpair ſhould make the queen
 put it in execution, he always took care to
 keep up her hopes by means of ſecret emiſſa-
 ries which he employed about her.

Octavius Mean while Octavius advanced towards the
approaches city of Alexandria, and encamped near the
Alexan- Hippodrom, or circus ſet apart for horſe-ra-
dria. An- ces. After his arrival, Antony made a ſally
tony's laſt upon him, and fought very valiantly, and
efforts. having put to flight the enemy's cavalry,
 he purſued them as far as Octavius's camp. As
 he was naturally vain, he made a trophy of
 this victory, and upon his return to town he
 went directly to the palace, embraced Cleopa-
 tra, with his armour upon him, and preſented
 to her one who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by
 his bravery above all the reſt. Cleopatra re-

warded him very magnificently, and made him a present of a head-piece and breast-plate of gold; but the crafty soldier, instead of shewing his gratitude, wanted only to secure the rich gift he had received; for the next night he deserted, and went over to the enemy's camp.

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

Antony was mortified at it, and out of a kind of revenge he himself invited his enemy's soldiers to desert, and caused billets to be scattered among them, promising fifteen hundred drachmas to every one who would come and list in his service. Octavius had so little apprehensions of any bad effect from these solicitations, that he assembled his army, and read one of the billets before them; from which the soldiers conceived fresh indignation against Antony, and a stronger attachment to their general Octavius.

He renewed once more, at this last extremity, the same challenge he had before sent to Octavius, of terminating the war by a single combat. The risk would have been too unequal between the two champions; and altho' Octavius's character had not set him above these boasting rhodomontades, he had no business to hazard his flourishing fortune against the ruined condition of his adversary. He answered coldly, that if Antony fought for death, there were enough of other methods left to procure it.

He fought for it in earnest, and believing that he could not procure it more gloriously than in battle, he resolved to fight both by sea and land at the same time. The evening before the day appointed for this desperate stroke, he ordered a grand entertainment to be pre-

Ant. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

pared for him. "Give me good wine, good cheer, says he, and plenty of it. I do not know but to-day may be the last time you will serve me; perhaps to-morrow you may be under another master, and I shall be no more than a carcass, and a vain phantom."

These sentiments were very suitable to the life which he had led; but his humane concern for his friends, which still remained, deserves to be commended. He declared that he would not take them to an engagement, where he had a much greater prospect of death than of victory.

Plutarch relates, that the night following, when the whole town was in the greatest consternation, and a melancholy silence, which was the consequence of it, reigned every where, they heard in the streets and squares the noise of voices and instruments, singing, dancing, and other tumultuous motions, like a company of bacchanalians; and that this noise, having passed thro' the whole town, seemed to go out at the gate which looked towards the enemy. The same author who relates this prodigy, whether true or false, gives also the interpretation of it. Antony had always taken Bacchus for his model and original, and had even declared himself the new Bacchus. One may imagine then, says Plutarch, that this God, upon leaving him, gave him notice of his approaching disaster, and abandoned him to his bad fortune.

*Betrays'd
and van-
quish'd, he
returns to
Alexan-
dria.*

At day-break, on the morning of the first of *August*, Antony drew up his land-forces on the hills near the entry into the town, and from thence he viewed his fleet, which advanced in good order towards that of the enemy. He

waited himself to be a spectator of the combat, An. R. 712.
Ant. C. 70. but was greatly surprized and exasperated to see his vessels salute those of Octavius, which returned it; and immediately the two fleets joining united, and went back into the harbour. At the very same time his cavalry deserted him. He tried however an engagement with the infantry, and having been vanquished, he returned into the town, crying aloud that he was betray'd by Cleopatra, and delivered by that ungrateful princess to those whom he had made his enemies entirely on her account.

He said very true; for it was by secret orders from Cleopatra that the fleet had passed over to the enemy. She was therefore afraid of Antony's just resentment, especially during the time of his wrath and despair. She therefore concealed herself in her tomb, and shut the gates of it, which were defended with rails, bolts, and iron bars, and from thence she sent to inform Antony that she was dead. According to Dio, this last message was still a more atrocious perfidy than all she had done before: For, in order to rid Octavius of his rival, she drove Antony to the extremity of killing himself, knowing very well that he loved her to such excess, that it was not possible for him to survive her.

Whether this reflection of Dio's be just, or only a conjecture formed after the event, it is certain that Antony gave credit to the news of Cleopatra's death, and immediately took the resolution of killing himself. "Why do you delay, Antony, (said he to himself) seeing fortune has deprived you of the only pretence you had left of still loving life." He retired immediately into his chamber, and

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

untying his breast-plate, still full of his former passion, he thus expressed himself, “Oh, Cleopatra, it is not being deprived of you that afflicts me, for I am going to meet you again very shortly; but it is shameful for so great and so powerful a general to see himself convinced that he has less courage than a woman.” A long time before, he had obliged one of his most faithful slaves, named Eros, to promise to kill him whenever fortune should drive him to this last resource. He then called upon him to execute his promise. The slave brandished the sword as if he was going to stab his master, but turning about his face, he plunged it into his own bosom. “I commend thee, Eros, cried Antony, seeing him fall at his feet, instead of doing that office which your regard for me would not permit you to perform, you shew me the example.” He then drew his sword, and plunging it into his belly, he threw himself upon a little couch. The wound which he gave himself was not immediately mortal; and the blood having stopped after he had lain some time upon his back, he recovered his spirits, and earnestly conjured those who were come into the room to put an end to his life; but they all fled, being seized with fright and horror.

*Having
heard that
she was
still alive,
he makes
them carry
him to her.*

While he cried out, and tossed his body violently, one of the queen’s secretaries, named Diomedes, came from her to propose that Antony might be transported to her in her tomb. By this means he understood that she was still alive, and far from entertaining any resentment against her, he earnestly desired them to take him in their arms, and carry him to the place where the queen was. The difficulty consisted

in getting him in; for Cleopatra would not allow, at any rate, the gates to be opened. She appeared at a window, and threw down cords, with which they fixed Antony, and as she pulled him up, assisted by two of her women, who were the only persons she took with her to attend her, there never was a more moving spectacle, or one more capable of raising compassion than this. * Antony all covered with blood, and in the agonies of an approaching death, was suspended in the air, stretching his hands towards Cleopatra; frequently wavering, and in danger of falling down again; while a number of spectators, anxious and trembling, encouraged Cleopatra, who used all the force she could with her arms, and made efforts which strained every feature of her face. At last, by the assistance of her two women, she hoisted him up to the window, and taking him in her arms, she carried him to her bed.

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

Then she gave herself up to the most violent grief. She tore her cloaths, beat her breast, kissed the wound which he had made, and rubbed off with her face the blood in which he was bathed, calling him at the same time her master, her husband, her emperor, and appearing to have forgot intirely her own misfortunes, through a violent sense of those of Antony. He comforted her, and intreating her to put an end to her tears and transports of grief, he asked for some wine, either because he was thirsty, or because he hoped thereby to hasten his death, which he looked upon as the moment of his deliverance. After he had drunk,

*He dies in
her arms.*

* *I do not know if this picture, which is drawn by Plutarch, has been executed by any*

great painter; but I cannot conceive a finer subject.

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

he intreated Cleopatra to endeavour to preserve her life, if she could do it with honour. And he mentioned to her Proculeius, as the person amongst all Cæsar's friends in whom she might put the greatest confidence. "With regard to me," added he, "do not lament my present misfortunes, but congratulate me upon the happiness which I have enjoyed. I have lived the greatest and the most powerful of men, and tho' I fall to-day, my fate is not ignominious; a Roman myself, I am overcome by a Roman."

*Octavius
sheds tears
at hearing
of his
death.*

He was hardly expired, when Proculeius, who was sent by Octavius, arrived; for while they transported Antony from the chamber where he had wounded himself to Cleopatra's tomb, one of his guards, named Derceteus, stole his sword, and getting away undiscovered, he ran to carry the first news of Antony's death to Octavius, shewing as a proof of it the sword tinged with blood. Octavius shed tears on hearing he was dead; but I am afraid they were still less sincere than those of Cæsar after the death of Pompey. He affected to bewail the melancholy fate of a brother-in-law, and of a colleague, with whom he had been connected in the management of so many great and important affairs. In order to justify himself, and wipe off all reproach, he gathered his friends together, and read to them the letters which he had wrote to Antony, and also those which he had received from him, desiring them to observe how reasonable his proposals had always been, whereas Antony's answers were full of pride and haughtiness. After this farce was ended, and he had taken care to clear his reputation on this occasion, he dispatched Proculeius

Proculeius to Cleopatra, ordering him to try by all means to get her into his power. For he was afraid of losing the treasures which she had conveyed to her tomb, and besides, he was very fond of leading her in triumph. An. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

Cleopatra however was upon her guard, and would not confer with Proculeius, except thro' the gate, which was very well secured. But it was not possible for them to come to an agreement. Cleopatra demanded the crown of Egypt for her children, and Proculeius advised her to trust to Octavius's discretion. In the mean time he took particular notice of every thing about the place, and Gallus being returned from Octavius to demand a second conference with Cleopatra, while they were together at the gate, the one on the inside, and the other without, and Gallus spun out the conversation on purpose, Proculeius caused a ladder to be placed against the wall, and, followed by two soldiers, he entered in at the window by which Antony had been conveyed. As soon as he was entered he ran to the gate; and one of Cleopatra's women crying out, "O, unfortunate princess, you are taken alive," she turned about, and observing Proculeius, attempted to stab herself with a poniard which hung at her girdle; but Proculeius running hastily to her, and laying hold of her arms, "You are unjust, said he, Cleopatra, both to yourself and to Octavius. You would deprive him of the opportunity of shewing his clemency, and make the most gentle of all conquerors pass for an implacable enemy, and one who is not worthy to be trusted." Saying this, he forced the poniard away from her, and examined her cloaths to see that she

An. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

had no poison concealed about her. Octavius being informed that Cleopatra was taken, sent Epaphroditus to bring her to his palace, and to watch her very carefully, without losing sight of her a moment, for fear she should kill herself. He was likewise ordered to use her well in every respect, to shew her the greatest deference, and do every thing in his power to render her captivity agreeable.

Octavius enters Alexandria hand-in-hand with the philosopher Areus.

Antony being dead, and Cleopatra a prisoner, Octavius made his entry into Alexandria. He took care to mitigate the terror which the inhabitants of that great city were in, by the caresses and singular marks of affection with which he honoured one of their fellow-citizens; for he made his entry hand-in-hand, and conversing familiarly, with the philosopher Areus, who was of Alexandria. The great respect which Octavius shewed to this philosopher is a thing worthy to be observed, and does great honour to learning. All the Alexandrians trembled, and when the conqueror was come into the Gymnasium, and placed himself upon the tribunal, which was there erected, they prostrated themselves with their faces to the ground, like criminals who waited to hear their sentence pronounced. Octavius presently ordered them to rise, telling them that three motives determined him to pardon them, *viz.* the respect he had for the memory of Alexander, their founder; the admiration which the beauty of their town occasioned in him; and the friendship which he had for their fellow-citizen Areus.

Antyllus and Cæsar is put to death.

Altho' Octavius having now no more a rival, and becoming incontestably master of the Roman empire, shewed, on most occasions, a clemency

clemency suitable to his high fortune, yet he did not leave off exercising such rigours as he thought necessary for his security. Thus Antyllus, the eldest of Antony's sons, being delivered up to him by Theodorus his preceptor, was condemned to death. Even the statue of Julius Cæsar, which he clasped in his arms, could not save him; for they pulled him away from it, in order to execute him. The wretched tutor, who had betrayed him whose life he ought to have preserved at the expence of his own, soon brought upon himself, by a fresh crime, the punishment due to so great a perfidy. For while the soldiers were employ'd in beheading Antyllus, Theodorus stole from him a valuable jewel, which hung at his neck. A search was made for it, and the thief denied it; but he was presently convicted of the fact, and crucified.

Cæfario saved himself by flight; for his mother having given him great riches, sent him to the Indies by way of Ethiopia. But his preceptor, whose name was Rhodon, being as perfidious as Theodorus, prevailed upon him to return, persuading him that Octavius would make him king of Egypt. The too credulous pupil followed his advice; but upon his arrival at Alexandria he was taken into custody. Octavius spared his life till Cleopatra's death, after which, as he deliberated what was best to be done with Cæfario, Areus determined him to put him to death, alluding to part of a verse in Homer, the sense of which runs thus, *viz.* ^y "A number of sovereigns is not good."

^y Homer says (Il. II. 204) *manner to Octavius, Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη. θὸν πολυκαιοσαρίη.*
which Areus turn'd in this

which

A. R. 722. which he altered in this manner, “A number of
 Ant. C. 30. “Cæsar is not good for you.” There was no
 occasion to press Octavius strongly to make
 away with a person who had disputed with
 him the quality of Cæsar’s son; he therefore
 caused him to be put to death.

As to the rest of Cleopatra’s children, he
 treated them with great gentleness; they were
 left to those who were intrusted with their edu-
 cation, and had orders to take care that they
 should be provided in every thing suitable to
 their birth.

*Antony’s
 funeral.*

Octavius was extremely complaisant to Cleo-
 patra, whom he was afraid of driving to de-
 spair, because he wanted, as I said before, to
 make her the principal ornament of his tri-
 umph. Several kings and generals desired An-
 tony’s body, in order to pay the last honours to
 it. But this consolation he reserved for Cleo-
 patra. She buried him with her own hands,
 and she was furnished with every thing that she
 desired, in order to render the funeral of so il-
 lustrious a man, and one whom she so tenderly
 loved, magnificent.

*Cleopatra
 wants to
 kill herself,
 but is re-
 frain’d
 from it by
 the fear
 of thereby
 occasioning
 the death
 of her
 children.*

It is impossible but such cruel mortifications
 must have a bad effect upon Cleopatra’s health,
 to add to which the contusions she had gi-
 ven herself upon her breast, having brought on
 an inflammation, she was seized with a fever.
 She was greatly pleased with it, and laid hold
 of this opportunity to starve herself to death,
 under pretence of a regimen necessary for her
 disorder. Her physician in ordinary, named
 Olympus, was in the secret, and from him
 Plutarch quoted the history of these events, in
 which he himself had acted a part. Octavius
 discovered Cleopatra’s intention, and made
 them

them threaten her with regard to her children. A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 39. That was a battery against which her maternal tenderness could not resist; and Cleopatra, for fear of being the cause of their death, allowed herself to be treated as they pleased, and recovered.

After she was recovered, Octavius came to visit her. She was lying upon a couch in a very careless manner. As soon as he entered, she raised herself hastily, having nothing on but a loose robe, and prostrated herself before him. Her misfortunes had soured the air of her countenance, and given her a kind of haggard look; her hair was dishevel'd, her voice trembling, her complexion pale, and her eyes cast down; on her bosom appeared the marks of the blows she had given herself, and, in a word, her whole outward appearance discovered evidently the deplorable condition of her mind. Mean while her natural beauty, and the noble sprightliness of her looks, were not entirely extinguished, and thro' all these disadvantageous external appearances there might still be discovered alluring charms, which shone in all her motions. Octavius desired her to place herself on her couch, and sat down beside her. Octavius comes to visit her.

Cleopatra had prepared herself for this interview, and made use of every method she could think of to sound Octavius. She tried apologies, intreaties, and allurements to touch his heart. She began with attempting to justify herself, and to throw the cause of the war entirely upon Antony, whom she was forced to obey: But Octavius refuting all those excuses, and convincing her that she was wrong in every article, she found that that fort was not tenable.

She

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

She then submitted to implore his clemency. Afterwards changing her tone, and likewise the subject, she turned her conversation on the dictator Cæsar. She shewed him several portraits of his great uncle, which she had hung up in her chamber, and read to him letters full of tenderness, which she had received from him, and preserved on purpose till that time, frequently interrupting the discourse with lamentable complaints, and reflections on herself. “Of what service, cried she, have those letters been to me, which that great man honoured me with? Why could not I die with him?” Afterwards she recovered herself, and addressing Octavius, “Oh, said she, I find him again in you, he revives for me in your person.” Octavius was no stranger to this language; but he remained firm against all those attacks, answering always with a cold indifference, so that Cleopatra was obliged to return to affairs of business.

She presented to him an inventory of her treasure and jewels, which gave occasion to a very singular scene. For Seleucus, one of her stewards, having alledged that the inventory was not just, and that she had secreted certain jewels which he mentioned, she fell into a violent passion, started from her couch, and catching him by the hair, gave him several blows on the face. Octavius laugh’d at this sally, and desired her to desist. “What, Sir, said she, whilst you do me the honour of visiting me in this melancholy situation, is it not proving that one of my slaves should dare to affront me in your presence? And even supposing it was true, it could never be for myself that I should keep those ornaments, which

“ which are now no more agreeable to my ^{An. R. 722.}
 “ fortune ; or could I be blamed for preserv- ^{Ant. C. 30.}
 “ ing some presents to offer to Livia and Octa-
 “ via, in order to obtain, by their means, in-
 “ dulgence from you ?” Octavius heard this
 speech of Cleopatra with pleasure, looking on
 it as a proof that she was determined not to
 destroy herself. And he answered her, that she
 was at liberty to keep what she had reserved,
 and that in every thing else he should take care
 to indulge her above what she could hope.
 He then took his leave of her, and departed;
 imagining that he had deceived her ; but he
 deceived himself, for Cleopatra, at that time,
 was making all the preparations for death.

She kept a correspondence with Dollabella, *She is in-*
 a young Roman of high birth, and attached to *formed*
 Octavius, but who, either out of compassion, *that she*
 or perhaps a much stronger motive, interested *must quit*
 himself in the misfortunes of that princess. He *that place*
 informed her privately, according to their a- *in three*
 greement, that Octavius was preparing to re- *days.*
 turn by land, taking the rout of Syria ; that as
 for her, it was resolved she should be sent off
 in three days, together with her children.

Upon this information she demanded leave *She goes to*
 of Octavius to offer libations on Antony's *offer liba-*
 tomb ; which having been granted, she came *tions on*
 with those women which usually attended her, *Antony's*
 and throwing herself on the coffin, ^{tomb.} “ O my
 “ dear

“ ὦ φίλε Αντώνιε, ἔθαπτον καὶ πηρυμένον ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ σὺ
 μέν σε πρώην ἔτι χερσὶν ἐλευ- θριάμβου. ἀλλὰς δὲ μὴ πρὸς
 θέροις, σπένδω δὲ νῦν αἰχμαλώ- δέχσ τιμὰς ἢ χόας, ἀλλ' αὐ-
 τῶ ἔσα, καὶ φρεσμένη μήτε ταῖσοι τελευταῖαι, Κλέοπα-
 κοπιτοῖς μήτη θρήνοις αἰκί- τρας ἀγομένης. ζῶντας μὲν γὰρ
 σασθαι τὸ δόλον τῆτο σώμα, ἡμᾶς ἔθεν ἀλλήλων διέστησεν,
 καὶ

A. R. 722. " dear Antony, said she, a few days ago I
 Ant. C. 30. " should have buried you with hands that were
 " still free ; but now I offer you libations, a
 " captive, a prisoner, and carefully watched;
 " lest by the violence of my grief I should
 " disfigure this wretched body, this body
 " that is enslaved, and which they carefully
 " guard for the fatal pomp of a triumph
 " over you. Expect no more offerings, or
 " oblations ; these are the last which you are
 " to receive, your Cleopatra is going to be
 " forced away from you. Nothing could
 " separate us while both alive ; but we are in
 " danger of being strangely removed from
 " each other by death, and of exchanging with
 " one another the natural places of our tombs,
 " seeing you, who are a Roman, have found
 " your tomb here, and unfortunate Cleopatra
 " must go in search of her's in Italy, the only
 " good which your country has ever procured
 " her. But if the Gods of the place which
 " you now inhabit have any force or power,
 " (for those here have betrayed us) do not aban-
 " don your spouse while she continues to live,
 " nor suffer them to triumph over you in my
 " person. Conceal me here with you ; shut
 " me up in your sepulchre ; for amidst the in-
 " finite misfortunes which I endure, none has
 " been more painful and grievous to me than

κινδυνεύομαι δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ δια-
 μείψασθαι τὰς τόπας· συ μὲν
 ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κείμενος,
 ἐγὼ δ' ἡ δύσπλοος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ,
 τούτῳ τῆς σῆς μέγα λαβὴσα
 χάρις ὤνεις. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ τις τῶν
 ἐκείθεν ἀληθὲς δύναμις, εἰ γὰρ
 ἦταῦτα πρέσβηται ἡμᾶς, μὴ

πρὶν ζῶσαν τὴν σεαυτῆς γυναῖ-
 κα μὲν ἐν ἐμοὶ περιίδης θρια-
 μευομένην σεαυτὸν, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ
 μετὰ πρὸς μετὰ σεαυτῆς, καὶ συν-
 θάψον. ὥς ἐμοὶ μυριῶν κακῶν
 ὄντων ἐδίδωμι μέγα καὶ δεινὸν ἐστίν,
 ὥς ὁ βραχὺς ὕπνος χρόνος, ὃ
 σὺ χωρὶς ἔζηκας.

" the

“ the short space of time I have lived without
 “ you.”

A. R. 722.
 Ant. C. 30.

After these moving complaints, Cleopatra *Her death.* strewed the coffin with flowers, and having kissed it a thousand times, she returned home and bathed herself. As soon as she had bathed she ordered a great dinner to be made, during the time of which a peasant brought to her a covered basket. The guards having asked him what it was, he opened it, and taking out the leaves on the top, he shewed them some figs. They admired the beauty and largeness of them, and the peasant, with a very natural air desired them to take some of them. As they did not suspect that he carried any thing else, they suffered him to pass.

As soon as Cleopatra had finished her dinner, she gave to Epaphroditus a letter sealed to deliver to Cæsar, and having caused every body to retire, except her two women, her faithful companions, she ordered them to shut the doors of her apartment. Octavius upon opening the letter, found in it nothing but lamentable intreaties, Cleopatra requesting, as the greatest favour, to be buried beside Antony. He easily apprehended what this signified, and had thoughts at first of going to her himself; but he judged it more proper to send some of those who were with him to examine what had passed. This was accordingly done; they ran as fast as they could, and found the guards quiet at their posts, not in the least suspecting that any accident had happened; but upon entering the chamber, they saw Cleopatra lying dead upon a gilded bed, arrayed in her royal robes. Of the two women who waited upon her, one, named

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

named Iris, lay dead at her mistress's feet, and the other, whose name was Charmio, already staggering, and hardly able to support herself, was putting the diadem on Cleopatra's head. One of those who came in, saying in a passion, "This is finely done, Charmio." "Yes very finely indeed, answered she, and "worthy a princess descended from so many "kings." On pronouncing these words, she fell down and expired.

As the death of Cleopatra had been so very sudden, Octavius fancied at first, that there might still remain in her some principle of life, which might possibly be revived. He tried counter poisons and caused her to be sucked by psyllæ; but all these efforts were in vain, she was actually dead, and Octavius must resolve to see his triumph deprived of so great an ornament.

It is plain from this whole account, that no body could certainly know what means Cleopatra made use of to kill herself. It was suspected, that under the figs which were brought by the peasant, there was concealed an asp, which she caused to sting her arm. They fancied that they observed upon her arm, after her death, two very small, and almost imperceptible punctures; but with regard to the animal itself they saw nothing of it, only they imagined they could observe the marks of its flight upon the sand, opposite the windows of the apartment where Cleopatra died. All this, however, is very uncertain. Nevertheless Octavius continued firm in this opinion, because in his triumph, he carried a picture, in which Cleopatra was represented with an asp sticking
to

to her arm. ^a Horace mentions it positively ^{A. R. 722.} as a fact, ^{Ant. C. 30.} ^b Virgil has likewise a manifest allusion to it, and the greatest part of other writers have been of the same opinion. Dio speaks of a bodkin with which Cleopatra had pricked herself, and by this means conveyed into her blood the subtle poison in which it had been steeped. But this last account of her death has obtained far less credit than the other. After all, as there was no witness of it that survived, people were reduced to simple conjectures about it, even at the time that it happened.

Cleopatra died at the age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two years. During fourteen of which, partaking in Antony's good fortune, she saw all the princes and kings of the East submit to her power, too happy if they were allowed servilely to pay their court to her. Her foolish ambition made her not satisfied with all this grandeur, but she wanted to rule over the whole Roman empire, and reign in the 'capitol. The fruit of this audacious project, so ill supported on her side, was the ruin both of Antony and of her. Haughtiness attended her even to her last moments. The

- Ausa & jacentem visere regiam
Vultu sereno fortis, & asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum.

Hor. Od. I. 37.

- Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina fistro:
Necdum etiam geminos à tergo respicit angues:
Virg. Æn. VIII. 696, 697:

- — — — — dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas
Fumus & Imperio parabat.

Hor. ibid.

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

most ^d disdainful woman that ever lived, she could not submit to adorn the triumph of her conqueror by her chains, and preferred even death itself to that ignominy. According to the maxims of the Pagans, this manner of acting was called greatness of soul, and was admired in Cleopatra by her enemies, and even by Octavius himself.

As to us, if we would form a right judgment of this princess, we shall find her great only in her vices. It is needless to mention her dissolute manners, which are known to all the world. Ambition was the motive of all her actions, and she thought nothing a crime which tended to satisfy that passion. She made war upon her eldest brother, poisoned a second, and Arsinoe her sister was killed by her orders. The abuse which she made of Antony's confidence during so many years, and his prodigious indulgence towards her, is an atrocious piece of ingratitude which she crowned with the blackest perfidy, by betraying to an enemy the person whom she feigned to love more than her life. And in order that she might partake of every kind of shame, she had the mortification to see the advances which she had made towards her conqueror rejected, and those efforts by which she tried to kindle in him a passion, in which, till that time, she had always triumphed, repulsed with contempt.

She was buried near Antony according to her desire, and Octavius even finished the tomb which they had begun to build them-

^c Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.

Hor. ibid.

selves.

selves. He, besides, ordered an honourable<sup>A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 39:</sup> burial for those women who had accompanied Cleopatra to her death.

In this princess ended the reign of the Lagides, which, to reckon from the death of Antony, had lasted two hundred and ninety-four years.

Antony, when he died, was according to *Antony's character.* some fifty-three years of age, and according to others fifty-six. He made a more shining figure than could well be expected from the merit of a man whose vices greatly surpassed his talents. With the capacity to acquire power, but incapable of preserving it, there never was any person who had greater need of adversity to make him be esteemed. All the vices which arise from good fortune, reigned in him at once, and rendered useless to him his knowledge of war, in which he excelled all the generals of his time. He was naturally good, humane and liberal; but these principles of virtue, not being supported by a sound, firm, and enlightened reason, sometimes eclipsed him so far, as to make him give way to the most odious cruelty, and sometimes even degenerated into weakness. Born to be governed by women, he was a flagrant instance of the infatuation, slavery, and other disasters, which foolish passions constantly occasion. In a word, he deserved that mankind should applaud his defeat; and it might justly be said to be the interest of the universe, that Antony should be overcome by Octavius.

The statues which had been erected to him Vell. II: were thrown down after his death, by virtue^{86.} of a decree of the Senate, which was passed when Cicero's son presided, who was then

An. R. 722. Consul. A very singular circumstance, and
 Ant. C. 30. which was remarked by all the world as a kind
 Cicero's of consolation to the Manes of Cicero, whose
 son, who son gave the last blow of infamy and ven-
 was Con- geance to his enemy and murderer. For the
 sul, brands same Senatus-Consultum ordered, that what-
 the memory ever had been decreed in favour of Antony
 of Antony should be abolished, that his birth-day should
 by a decree be ranked among those called unfortunate,
 of the Senate. and that none of the family of Antony should
 Plut. Cic. ever after bear the name of Marcus. I must
 Plin. and beg leave, however, to observe by the way,
 Appian that Octavius seems to have desired to wash
 Civil. L. off the reproach of his ingratitude towards
 IV. and Cicero, by the regard which he shewed to his
 Dio. son. Young Cicero after the battle of Philippi,
 retired at first to Sicily, to Sextus Pompeius.
 It is probable that he returned to Rome after
 the treaty of Misenum, and thus being in a
 situation of receiving Octavius's favours, he
 was first made Augur, and afterwards ad-
 vanced to the Consulship, which he enjoyed
 from the 13th of *September* to the 1st of *November*,
 in the year I am now speaking of.

Plut. Ant. The statues of Cleopatra would not have
 been spared more than those of Antony, if Ar-
 chibius, her generous friend, had not preserved
 them from being destroyed, by giving a thousand
 talents (about two-hundred and twenty-five
 thousand pounds sterling) for them to Octavius.

The poster- Antony left seven children by three dif-
 it of An- ferent wives. He had by Fulvia Antyllus and
 1973. Julius Antonius; by Octavia two daughters,
 both named Antonia; by Cleopatra two sons,
 Ptolemy and Alexander, and one daughter
 named Cleopatra after her mother. We have
 already seen the melancholy fate of Antyllus, with
 regard

regard to the rest, Octavia, who continued al-^{An. R. 722.}
ways faithful the memory of an ungrateful^{Ant. C. 30.}
spouse, took them home to her, to bred
them up with her own children, and perform-
ed the office of a mother to them all. She
made Julius Antonius her son-in-law, by giving
him in marriage Marcella, whom she had by
her first husband Marcellus. She married Cle-
opatra to Juba, the most amiable and learned
of kings, who having been educated at Rome,
as I said elsewhere, and attached himself to
Octavius, was re-established by him upon the
throne of his father, and continued the posterity
of Masinissa. History does not inform us
what became of Ptolemy and Alexander, we
only know that Octavius spared their lives.
As for the two daughters which Octavia had
by Antony, the eldest married Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the younger Antonia, so celebrated
for her beauty and virtue, became the wife of
Drusus and the mother of Germanicus. By
means of these alliances, Antony's posterity ar-
rived at the sovereign power in Rome. Three
of his descendants were emperors, *viz.* Cali-
gula the great-grandson, Claudius his grand-
son, and Nero, who descended from him both
by his father and mother. For Domitius his
father was Antony's grandson, and Agrippina
his mother was his great-grand-daughter.

Thus we see that Octavius supported the glory
of his clemency, with which he had taken care
after a certain time to adorn his victories and
his splendid fortune. His humanity was not
confined to Antony's family alone; for he par-
doned the greatest part of the Romans who
had followed that unfortunate chief, and history

A. R. 722. mentions no more than three of them who
 Aul. C. 30. were punished with death.

Cassius of The first of these was Cassius of Parma, one
Parma, of Cæsar's murderers, and who on that account
Canidius, could not be spared by the son and avenger of
and the that great man. He was exasperated at his
Senator treatment, and wrote some verses upon it; but
Ovinus Horace gives us no favourable idea of his talent
put to death in this way*, representing him as one of those
by Octa- fruitful writers, who can produce whole volumes
vius. without any trouble, insomuch that it was said
 Vell. II. of him, that his own works were sufficient to
 87. and form a funeral pile sufficient to consume his
 Oros. VI. body after his death. He was the last of the
 19. conspirators which suffered, as Trebonius was
 the first.

Octavius also put to death Canidius, the commander of Antony's land-army at Actium, a violent enemy to him, and on the other hand, far from being faithful to his general. We have seen him concerned in Cleopatra's plots to deceive Antony. Such a man does not deserve to be lamented, and he shewed even a cowardly disposition in his last moments, submitting to death with less courage than became an old warrior, who had been bred up to arms from his infancy.

The third Roman who suffered was one Ovinus, an effeminate worthless courtier of Cleopatra, who debased the senatorial dignity with which he was invested, by taking upon him the superintendence of the linnen, moveables,

* — — — — Etrusci

Quali fuit Cassi rapido ferventius anni
 Ingenium, capis quem fama est esse librisque
 Ambustum propriis.

Hor. Sat. I. 10.

and

and stuffs which were made for the queen of Egypt; an office which was looked upon as servile among the Romans. A. R. 723.
Ant. C. 30.

We may justly suppose that besides those three whose death I have just mentioned, and who are the only persons taken notice of in the monuments which remain of those times, he pardoned all the rest. It must however be allowed that his clemency had not that magnanimous generosity which shone in his great uncle. His cunning and artful character discovers itself in a passage which Dio has preserved to us.

Octavius declared that he had burnt all the papers which he found belonging to Antony. His intention in this was to remove all fears from those who had any connection with the unfortunate party, and might be afraid of being called to an account for their past conduct. Pompey had behaved in the same manner with regard to Sertorius's papers, and Cæsar had imitated him after the victory which he gained over Metellus Scipio. Octavius wanted to have the honour of so glorious an action, and at the same time not to deprive himself of the advantage which Antony's papers would give him, with regard to those who should be obstinate in remaining his enemies. Thus while he affirmed that they were all burnt, he carefully preserved the greatest part of them, and made no sort of scruple to use them afterwards, whenever an opportunity presented itself. *Octavius declares he has burnt Antony's papers, but nevertheless keeps a part of them.*
Dio. l. LII.

His conduct was more sincere with regard to the foreigners. He found assembled at Alexandria the children of the most part of the kings and princes, who were allies and dependents *His conduct with regard to the children of the kings and princes of the east which he found at Alexandria.*
Dio. l. LI.

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

dents of Antony. There were both males and females among them, the first retained as hostages, and the others destined for Antony's pleasures, who made no scruple, in order to gratify his brutal passions, to dishonour the the dower of the nobility of the east. The conqueror treated them all with great gentleness; some of them he sent back, others he married together, and a good many he detained; but without using them harshly. Dio mentions in particular Jotapa, who was to marry one of Antony's sons; and the brothers of Artaxias king of Armenia. Jotapa was sent back to the king of the Medes her father, who sometime before had courted Octavius's friendship. But Artaxias could not obtain that his sons should be restored to him, because he had massacred the Romans, who remained in his country.

*Immense
riches car-
ried by
Octavius
out of
Egypt.*

Egypt became, by the victory gained over Cleopatra, a conquered country, and a Roman province. Octavius making use of the right of a conqueror, carried away with him immense sums of money. The palace of the kings was filled with prodigious treasures, which Cleopatra had likewise augmented by her rapines, and especially by plundering the temples of every thing which was precious in them. The reproach of those sacrileges fell upon Cleopatra, while Octavius enjoyed the profit of them. He made likewise the Alexandrians, and all the Egyptians, purchase the pardons which he granted them, by the payment of large taxes. Thus the money which he took out of Egypt amounted to such a sum as enabled him to pay all he owed his soldiers, and besides to give those who follow-
ed

ed him in this last expedition a gratuity of a ^{A. R. 722.} hundred and fifty denarii * a head, to make ^{Ant. C. 30.} amends for the plunder of Alexandria which ^{About six} he had deprived them of. He re-paid all he ^{pounds ster-} had borrowed for supporting the war, and ^{ling.} magnificently rewarded the Roman senators and knights who had served him. In short Rome was enriched, and its temples adorned with the spoils of Egypt.

Nothing could better discover the immense quantity of money with which the conquest of Egypt enriched Rome, than the change in commerce which resulted from it. The funds doubled their value, and the interest of money was reduced to a third, falling from twelve to four *per cent.* It is true that we ought to attribute a part of that effect to the peace and tranquillity which was entirely established, the first fruits of which they had already enjoyed.

A Province so rich, and extremely fertile in ^{Singular} corn, was a very considerable acquisition to the ^{precautions} Roman empire. Alexandria became after this ^{which he} the nurse of Rome, supplying that capital of ^{takes with} the universe with provisions for four months in ^{regard to} the year. But to consider things in another light, ^{the go-} this richness, and even this fertility, in a pro- ^{vernment} vince so far distant from the centre of the ^{of that} government, might inspire with ambitious ^{province.} thoughts a governor who had the command of ^{Joseph. de} it, who might flatter himself the more easi- ^{B Jud. II.} ly of succeeding in fortifying himself, and ^{16.} making an independent establishment there, as the country was difficult of access both by sea and land, and that nation always fickle, su- ^{Tac. Hist.} perstitious to excess, and disposed to sedition ^{I. 21.} and revolts, concealing a fire which was always ready to break out on the slightest occasion.

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.
Arrian. l.
III.

Dio.

Strabo. l.
17.

Suet. Aug.
66.

Dio.

Strabo

Tac. Ann.
II. 59.

*The happi-
ness of E-
gypt under
the Roman
govern-
ment.*

Alexander had formerly been struck with these apprehensions, and had taken precautions against that danger, by dividing the authority among several persons. Octavius took another method, which answered the same end. He put at the head of that province, not an honourable magistrate, but, a simple Roman knight, with the title of Prefect, having under his command three legions, and some other bodies of troops less considerable, distributed in different parts of the country. The first whom he invested with this office was Gallus, a person of low condition, and who owed his whole fortune to him. Octavius even carried his precautions so far, as to forbid any senator to set his foot in Egypt without his express permission.

In order to prevent the effect of the restless and seditious spirit of the people, he would not allow them either senate or publick council in Alexandria, tho' almost all the towns of the empire enjoyed this prerogative. And in general he did not establish in Egypt the form of government which the Romans introduced into their new conquests, and which had always something of the republican turn. Egypt was governed after quite a monarchical system, and the prefects represented their ancient kings. These dispositions were settled and passed into a law, and a maxim of state.

However Octavius, while he was taking measures severe in appearance, in order to confirm to himself the possession of his conquest, was no less attentive to render the subjects happy, and he wanted that Egypt, in return for the advantages it procured to the Roman empire, should receive from its new masters what-
ever

ever it wanted to make it happy. The last kings of Egypt had been a set of monsters. There was nothing to be found in them but cruelty, a tyrannical disposition, and a contempt of laws and of manners. Their smallest failing was negligence. Under such a government Egypt, in spite of its fertility and other advantages, had been very unhappy. Octavius remedied these evils by a wise policy, and a close attention to the good of the country. Those canals which came from the Nile, and were so necessary for fertilising the soil, and so commodious for the interior commerce of the country, were entirely spoiled, and stopt up with heaps of mud. He made his troops cleanse them, and cut out new ones. But especially he encouraged the maritime commerce, for which Alexandria had been built, and of which, by its situation, it ought to have been the centre, if the negligence and bad conduct of its kings had not hindered it. Thus this great city was never in so flourishing a condition as under the Roman empire. It was then that it became truly the general magazine of all nations, and the chain which connected the east with the west. Thus Alexandria was raised to the rank of the second city of the universe, which she constantly afterwards enjoyed till the foundation of Constantinople.

During the stay which Octavius made at Alexandria, he visited the tomb of Alexander. He even touched the body; and Dio has thought proper to remark, that the end of the nose on which he laid his hand, was reduced to dust under his fingers. The testimonies of veneration which he shewed to the ashes of that conqueror, the flowers which he strewed upon his

An. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.
Strabo.

Octavius
visits A-
lexander's
tomb. Dio.

Suet. Aug.
18.

A.R. 722. his monument, and the crown with which he
 A. C. 30. adorn'd him, are circumstances much more
 worthy to be remembered. They wanted like-
 wise to shew him the tombs of the Ptolemies ;
 but he refused it, telling them that he was cu-
 rious to see a king, and not dead bodies. He
 likewise excused himself from visiting Apis,
 according to their desire, by an expression more
 solid and judicious than the former. " I am
 Dio. " accustomed, said he, to honour the Gods,
 " and not an ox."

He leaves Egypt and passes the winter in Asia. Towards the end of the fine season he left
 Egypt, cross'd Syria, and went into Asia, to
 pass the winter there. He applied himself to
 establish tranquillity and his own authority in
 those vast countries, which till that time had
 never submitted to his laws ; and, to make
 them immediately sensible of the difference be-
 tween his government and that of Antony, he
 caused to be replaced in the temples the sta-
 tues which his rival had taken away, to satisfy
 the avarice of Cleopatra. A restitution which
 both religion, and the taste the Greeks had for
 arts, rendered extremely agreeable to these
 people.

Domestic troubles among the Parthians. • He had then an opportunity of concerning
 himself in the affairs of the Parthians, amongst
 whom troubles and divisions were excited,
 which were owing to the pride and cruelty of
 Justin. l. Phraates. His success against Antony having
 XLII. and puffed up his courage, he gave way to his
 Dio. natural ferocity with more boldness and less
 reserve than ever, and spilt seas of Blood.
 His subjects drove to extremity, at last lost all
 patience, shook off the yoke, drove away
 Phraates, and set up Tiridates to reign in his
 place. The dethroned king had recourse to
 the

the Scythians, and with the troops which they lent him returned into his kingdom. Tiridates in the mean time endeavoured to maintain himself upon the throne : and thus the Parthians were engaged in a civil war, at the same time with the Romans.

Both Tiridates and Phraates courted Octavius's friendship, and demanded assistance from him ; but he understood his own interest too well, not to be pleased to see the forces of a powerful empire, and the only rival to that of Rome, destroy each other by their intestine divisions ; and he answered that his own affairs occupied him entirely. During the time he was in Egypt, the war between the Parthians was determined by the victory of Phraates and the expulsion of Tiridates, who retired into Syria with one of his enemy's sons, whom he had found means to take prisoner. Octavius was still solicited by the two princes, Tiridates pressed him to re-establish him upon the throne, promising afterwards to become his vassal ; and Phraates, on the other hand, sent Ambassadors to him, demanding of him to deliver up Tiridates his rebellious slave, and to send back his son. But Octavius hearkened to neither of their demands, contenting himself with promising a sure refuge to Tiridates in Syria, and resolving to take with him Phraates's son, as an hostage to Rome, whither he was preparing to return.

There he would have been in very great danger, if the vigilance of Mæcenas had not prevented it. The son of Lepidus, a rash and impetuous young man, had formed a conspiracy to assassinate him at his arrival. He saw in him the destroyer of all his relations

A conspiracy of young Lepidus rendered abortive by Mæcenas.
Veil. II.

and 83.

An. R. 721. and supporters, and proposed to revenge by
 Ant. C. 30. his death his father whom he had spoiled of all
 his riches, his uncle Brutus whom he reduced
 to kill himself, and last of all Antony, who
 had been his father-in-law, a recent victim of
 Octavius's ambition. We have no full ac-
 count of this conspiracy ; nor are we able to say
 who were the persons whom Lepidus engaged in
 the plot. All we know, is, that their designs
 were very soon penetrated by Mæcenas. Up-
 on the first suspicion of it, that minister ob-
 served every step that was taken, and let him
 proceed till he had sufficient proof against him,
 which the rashness of the young conspirator
 soon furnished him with. The criminal was
 seized, committed, and put to death.

Servilia follows young Lepidus her husband to his tomb. Servilia ^f his wife desired to follow her be-
 loved husband to his tomb, and carefully ob-
 served by her family, having no weapon about
 her, she choaked herself, according to Vellei-
 us, by swallowing live coals. It has been al-
 leged that the celebrated Portia, the wife of
 Brutus, suffered the same kind of death ; but
 I have proved that very probably it was only a
 fable. With regard to Servilia, I have no-
 thing to invalidate the testimony of Velleius.

Old Lepidus supplicating before a consul who had formerly been proscribed. The mother of the conspirator, Junia sister
 of Brutus, was included in the criminal process
 against her son, and Mæcenas wanted to send
 her to Octavius to be judged by him, or at

Appian. Civil. l. IV. ^f Soon after the death of time I am now speaking of, for
 Caesar, Antony, according to there is no mention made of
 Dio's account (Book XLIV. her among the children which
 towards the end) had given in Antony left at his death, and
 marriage to Lepidus one of his beside the wife of young Le-
 daughters, who is no where pidus at the time of the Con-
 else mentioned in history. She spiracy was called Servilia by
 must have been dead at the Velleius.

least he demanded that she would give sufficient security to appear whenever she should be called upon. Here again is a very remarkable instance of the fickleness and instability of human affairs. The consul before whom that process was carried on, and who was absolutely to determine it, was one who had been proscribed, whom Appian calls Balbinus. Old Lepidus, formerly one of the three authors of the proscription, saw himself obliged to implore the protection of that consul, having fallen into such discredit and neglect, that he could not find any person to become security for his wife. He frequently waited before Balbinus's door, without gaining access, and when he wanted to approach the tribunal the lictors pushed him back. At last he forced himself in, and accosted Balbinus in the following manner. "The accusers themselves acknowledge my innocence, and do not reproach me as being an accomplice either with my wife, or with my son. As to you, it was not I who proscribed you, and I see myself at present inferior to several whom I formerly did proscribe. Consider then the changes of fortune to which mankind is subject. Behold Lepidus, who presents himself a suppliant before you. Touched with such a spectacle, either accept me as security for my wife, or send me with her bound hand and foot to Cæsar." The consul relented at this speech of Lepidus, and he excused Junia from the necessity of giving security.

Octavius spent in Asia the end of the year of his fourth consulship, and the winter following, when he was consul for the fifth time, together with Sex Apuleius.

C. JULIUS

A. R. 722.
Ant. C. 30.

A. R. 723.

Ant. C. 29.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIUS, V.

SEX. APULEIUS.

*Hence,
decreed to
Octavius
by the se-
nate.
Dio.*

The senate had not heard of the entire de-
feat and death of Antony, to decree honours
to his vanquisher. Immediately after the bat-
tle of Actium, they published an order for
his triumphing over Cleopatra, and to this ho-
nour, which might be called premature, as the
war was not yet finished, they added several
others. It was given out that they intended
to erect for him two triumphal arches, the one
at Brundisium, and the other in the forum at
Rome; that they would consecrate in the tem-
ple erected in honour of Julius Cæsar the
prows of the vessels taken at Actium;
that they would celebrate games every five
years in honour of Octavius; that his birth-
day, and that on which the news of his victo-
ry arrived at Rome should be kept as festi-
vals; that upon his return, the vestals, the se-
nators, and all the citizens, together with their
wives and children, should go out to receive
him. With regard to the crowns and statues
which were decreed to him, Dio has judged it
superfluous to give a list of them, and it
would still be a more useless task at this
time of day, even supposing the records we
have of it to be exact.

The death of Antony, which crowned and
confirmed Octavius's prosperity, became an
occasion and motive of new homages being
paid to his good fortune. They decreed him
a new triumph on account of his conquest of
Egypt; for they observed that decorum in
the title of the triumphs, to make no mention
neither of Antony, nor of the Romans who
followed

followed him. They likewise ordered that the day on which Alexandria was taken should be celebrated as a festival, and serve as an epocha for the Egyptians to date their year from.

All this however was only honourary. But they added to it something more substantial, by decreeing to Octavius for his whole lifetime the tribunitial power, with a right still more extensive than that of the tribunes, whose authority was confined within the walls of the city, whereas they allowed him to exercise his as far as a mile's distance from Rome. This power had been offered him some years before, as I have already observed, but he did not accept of it. He still persisted even at this time to refuse it, and it was not till after he had abdicated his eleventh consulship, that the senate having offered it to him anew, he consented at last to receive it, in order that he might have a lasting title of authority and pre-eminence in Rome over all the magistrates. They acknowledged him in some measure the chief of the republic, by ordering that his name should be added to those of the senate and people in the prayers and vows which the priests should offer up for the safety of the empire. In fine, on the first of *January*, the consul his colleague, and the whole senate, swore to observe his decrees and orders; a duty paid only by subjects towards their sovereign. They granted him besides some particular rights, as that of augmenting as he pleased the number of the priests; a right which both he and his successors gloried in so much, that the number of those in Rome cloathed in different sacerdotal robes became

AN. R. 723. excessive, and in the time of Dio it would
 AN. C. 29 have been a difficult task to keep an exact register of them.

They rank him among the number of the Gods. They were not content with bestowing upon him all the honours and grandeur a mortal could receive, but they even associated him with the Gods, ordering his name to be inserted with theirs, in the hymns which were sung at the most solemn festivals. It was likewise enjoined to offer him libations at all their feasts, whether publick or private, and Horace assures us that this custom was established and kept up. ^s “ Every citizen (says he to “ Augustus, in an ode which was published a “ great while after the time I am now speaking of) invites you as a titular God to his “ desert. He addresses you with humble “ prayers, pours out libations in honour of “ you, and renders you the same homage as “ to his household Gods. In the same manner as Greece deified Castor, and the great “ Hercules, out of gratitude.”

The manner of his receiving all these honours, especially the last. Octavius received all those honours, both human and divine, with some others I have not mentioned, to avoid being tedious; at least he refused but very few of them. For example, he declared absolutely that he did not desire the whole number of citizens should go out to meet him at his entry into Rome. Further, not only those titles which had power

Quisque — — — alteris
 Te mens adhibet deum.
 Te multâ prece, te prosequitur mero
 Desuso pateris, & Laribus tuum
 Miscet numen, uti Græcia Castoris,
 Et magni memor Herculis.

Hor. Od. IV. 5.

annexed

annexed to them, but even those which could only be regarded as merely honorary, pleased him in several respects. His vanity was flattered by so many testimonies of veneration, and besides he knew that whatever heightens the majesty of the lawgiver in the eyes of the people, disposes them more to obey him.

To this principle ought to be attributed his willingness to receive divine honours especially, and his zeal of having them bestowed on his adoptive father. He had caused a temple to be erected to him in Rome, and he consented, at the time I am now speaking of, that the people of Asia should build one to him at Ephesus, and the Bithynians at Nice, to pay honours to him in the same manner as they did at Rome; and he ordered the Romans established in those provinces to worship in these temples together with the natives of the country. though Julius could reap no advantage from those homages; yet they reflected in some measure upon his son who represented him.

It was not however sufficient for Octavius to be the son of a God, but he wanted to pass for one himself. However, he was more reserved with regard to Rome, where he never suffered them to consecrate any place for his worship, though he allowed it in the provinces. Asia and Bithynia first set the example; for at the same time that they built those temples I have mentioned in honour of Julius Cæsar, they erected others to Octavius in the towns of Pergamus and Nicomedia. They likewise associated with him, by his order, the city of Rome, which in some measure softened the odium of those sacrilegious honours.

A. R. 723.
Ant. C. 29.

He suffers them in the provinces to erect temples to his father and to him.

Suet. Aug. 52.

116 OCTAVIUS V. and APULEIUS Consuls.

A. R. 723.
A. U. C. 29.

Philo ad
Caium.

As no contagion is so infectious as that of flattery, so presently all the provinces followed the example set them by the Asians and Bithynians. Throughout the whole empire there was nothing but temples, solemn games, and sacerdotal colleges, erected in honour of the master of the universe ; and these temples were commonly more beautified and ornamented than those of the ancient divinities, whom a modern and visible God eclipsed. The Alexandrians in particular built a magnificent temple to him, to which were added portico's, libraries, courts, sacred groves, porches and walks, where they honoured him under the title of *Cæsar the protector and patron of Sailors*. This flattery was still carried to greater excess with regard to his successors, most part of whom deserved a scaffold more than an altar. In the mean while Italy and Rome were favoured, and Dio assures us that till his time there was no temple erected to any emperor while alive, at least by persons worthy to be mentioned. After their death every body is acquainted with the ceremony of the Apotheosis, in consequence of which they had all divine honours paid them.

Further it is proper to observe, that that impious custom of giving and receiving worship reserved for God alone was of a long standing among the Romans ; for a great while before this time the provinces of the empire had erected temples to the city of Rome as to a Goddeſs, and frequently the ſame honours had been paid to ſimple pro-conſuls. Octavius therefore was not more culpable than thoſe who preceded him ; but in joining him with others I do not pretend to diminifh his crime.

I should rather chuse to point out, how even that part of mankind which was then the most enlightened suffered itself to be corrupted by the voice of the tempter, you said to our first parents, *ye shall be like Gods.* A. R. 723¹
Ant. C. 29.

I have reserved till now the two decrees of the senate which flattered Octavius most, because they were of a very singular nature, and even the satisfaction he had in them does honour to him.

The first ordered the temple of Janus to be shut up, as a token of universal peace. The Romans were much delighted with this; for the disturbances raised by the Trevii in Gaul, and the Cantabrii in Spain, did not deserve the name of a war. Every body knows that since the foundation of Rome, the temple of Janus had never been shut but twice; the first in the reign of Numa, and again after the first Punic war. It was this which rendered the honour that was so rare of having shut ^{*The temple of Janus shut up.*} the gates of war, as Virgil calls them, more precious in the eyes of Octavius. He was sensible that the glory of being the restorer of peace to the universe far excelled the splendor of the greatest conquests; and he deserved to be congratulated on this sentiment.

The object of the second decree nearly resembled the other; for he likewise renewed, after a long interval, a pacific ceremony which they called the *Augur of safety*, and which Dio ^{*The Augur of safety is renewed.*} explains nearly in these terms. This is a kind of Divination, says that Historian, by which the Romans pretend to inform themselves

¹ — — — Diræ ferro & compagibus arctis
Claudentur belli portæ.

Virg. *Æn.* I. 29. *vid.* & VII. 607.

A. R. 723.
A.D. C. 29.

whether the divinity judges it proper for them to demand the safety and happiness of the nation; not thinking it lawful even to demand it unless they have authority for it from heaven.

*Fasti
dies Maxi-
morum
pontificum*

The first magistrate in Rome consults the auspices with this intent, and the day on which he performs this religious office, must be a day of entire peace, on which there is neither any body of troops setting out for war, nor an enemy's army in the field, nor any military preparations a going on, nor apprehensions of a battle. This ceremony, which ought to have been repeated every year, had been performed for the last time thirty four years before, in the consulship of Cicero, when Pompey had happily terminated the war against Mithridates. Since that time, on account of the foreign and civil wars, they had never been able to find a day when it was possible for them to perform the *augur of safety*. We now see the reason why Octavius was charmed at having an opportunity to renew it; for it declared him the Saviour of the republic, and this encomium was likewise bestowed on him by an^k inscription dated in his fifth consulship.

*The Tri-
umph of
Octavius.*

Octavius after a stay of several months in Asia, went into Greece, and from thence to Italy, entering Rome in a triumphant manner. He had three triumphs at that time to celebrate. The first was over the Dalmatians, Panonians, Iapydæ, and other neighbouring nations, to which were joined in the title of

^k SENATUS-POPULUSQUE ROMANUS IMP. CÆSARI DIVI JULII F. COS. QUINCT. COS. DESIG. SEPT. IMP. SEPT. REPUBLICA CONSERVATA. Signon. Comm. in Fastos.

the triumph the Morini, a people of Gaul, An. R. 723.
Ant. C. 29. and the Suevii, of Germany, whom Carrinas his lieutenant had reduced to obedience. The second triumph was for the victory at Actium, and the third for the conquest of Egypt.

We have no very accurate description of these triumphs; but there is no doubt of their pomp being magnificent, seeing the whole known world contributed to embellish them. Together with the spoils of the vanquished, they carried crowns and other gifts, which their allies were accustomed to offer on such occasions, as a tribute of acknowledgment and congratulation. These were followed by the triumphal chariot of Octavius, whose victory was greatly exalted by his youth; for he then only entered into his five and thirtieth year. The state horses were mounted, Suet. Tib. that on the right by Marcellus, nephew to ^{6.} Octavius, and designed by him for his successor, in case he should have no heirs of his own; and that on the left by Tiberius, the son of Livia, who was at that time about fourteen years old. After the chariot marched the consul Potitus, who was chose in the place of Apulius; all the magistrates with the ornaments of their dignity, and all the senators who had followed Octavius in the wars, and contributed to his victory, cloathed in robes embroidered with purple. The army distributed into legions and cohorts, closed the procession. Those officers and soldiers who had received military rewards (of whom there was a great number) carried the signals of their bravery, the glory of which reflected upon their general. Agrippa, whether he took his place among the senators, or at the head of

An. R. -23. the army, shone above all the rest by his
 Ant. C. 29. sea-green standard, which Octavius had given him as a proof and monument of the share he had in the victory at Actium. I mention nothing of the infinite number of people which were gathered together to behold the triumph.

Of all the triumphs the last, in which the spoils of Egypt were displayed, was by far the richest. Cleopatra was intended to have been the principal ornament of it, and in order to supply her person, Octavius caused them to carry a picture of her, which represented her lying on a bed, having an asp or two fixed to her arm. The children of that queen, Alexander and Cleopatra, were there led captives. Their brother Ptolemy had probably died after the taking of Alexandria. The chariot was doubtless preceded by several other prisoners, or hostages of different courts of the east; but of those we have no particular account, and we know no other of that number but Alexander the brother of Jamblicus, whom I have mentioned elsewhere, and Adjatorix and his children, whose fortune had something extremely affecting and interesting in it.

The admirable generalship of the son of Adjatorix.
 Strabo l. XII. Adjatorix was descended from the Tetrarch of Gallo-Grecia, and Antony had made him prince of the city of Heracleum and of Pontus. Part of that town was then inhabited by a Roman colony, and Adjatorix taking advantage of the troubles the Romans were in, attacked, during the night, those who composed that colony, under pretence of an order from Antony, and put them all to the sword. Octavius thought he ought not to leave this crime unpun-

unpunished, and after having led Adjatorix, his wife and children in triumph, he condemned him to die, together with the eldest of his sons. There were three of them in all, and when they were conducted to the place of execution, the second, out of an admirable generosity, maintained that he was the eldest, and therefore the sentence of death respected him. He who was truly the eldest, and was called Dyteutus, would not yield in point of generosity to his brother, but claimed his right of birth, the privilege of which was a bloody death. The contest between them was pretty long, and the two brothers renewed the dispute so much celebrated between Pylades and Orestes. At last however their relations having represented to Dyteutus, that as he was the eldest, he could the better support his mother and the youngest of his brothers, he yielded, and the second was beheaded in his stead. This surprizing adventure made a great noise, and Octavius on being informed of it was sorry for the rigour he had exercised on that family. He was desirous to repair it as much as possible, and he gave to Dyteutus the priesthood of Bellona at Comanus in Pontus, a considerable establishment, and of which I have had occasion to speak more than once.

The triumphs of Octavius were seen with great pleasure by the Romans, and the whole nation took part in them with a sincere joy. All men of sense observed a great difference between Octavius and Antony, and since they must have a master, they judged that fortune had used them very favourably by giving them the ablest and wisest of the two. The common people were gained by his attention to

Octavius's triumphs are beheld with a sincere joy.

A. R. 723. to indulge them, and by the greatness of his
Ant. C. 29 munificence.

His munificence.

I have already observed that he re-imbursed them all the money they had advanced to him, and remitted all that was due of the last taxes. He also excused the towns of Italy from furnishing crowns which they used to bestow on triumphers, or any thing instead of them. Not content with those proofs of justice and moderation, he added to them immense distributions of money. He gave * four hundred sesterces a head to the lower class of citizens. And after bestowing this gift in his own name, to all who were above the age of seventeen or eighteen years, he extended it to the children, under the name of Marcellus. The soldiers, to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand, received of him a † thousand sesterces a head. In short upon sending them to the colonies, he distributed large sums, in order to recompence those in the towns and countries where they were established, granting the same indulgence not only to Italy, but also to the provinces, which had never been done before.

* Two pounds seven shillings and eleven pence sterling.
Lapis An-
cyr.
† About six pounds sterling.

Such liberalities as these were a powerful allurements; and that happy tranquillity which they saw restored after so many troubles and misfortunes, disposed them to love the author of the public felicity, and to prefer his yoke to a tumultuous liberty, the source of ambitious projects for the great, and of calamities for the people.

Macrob.
Sat. l. I.
c. 12.

Triumphs of Carrinas and Autronius Pætus.

Octavius celebrated these three triumphs in the month of *August*, three days successively. Afterwards Carrinas and Autronius Pætus triumphed, the one over the Morini and the Sue-
vii,

Vii, and the other over Africa. Autronius's exploits must not have been very inconsiderable, seeing Octavius, whose lieutenant he was, did not comprehend him at all in his triumph. As to those of Carrinas, they had adorned the triumph of his general before they procured the same honour to himself. Dio observes that his father had been proscribed by Sylla, and that consequently the son was excluded from all offices and honours by the laws of the same dictator. He nevertheless obtained every thing which the ambition of a Roman could desire, viz. The consulship and a triumph. A new example of the inconstancy of fortune in her changes for the better, as sometimes they are for the worse.

The whole month of August was spent in *Dedications of temples and other public buildings.* feasts and rejoicings. Octavius after his triumphs dedicated a temple to Minerva, and another in honour of Julius Cæsar, likewise a grand building designed for the assemblies of the senate which he called the *Palace of Julius.* *Feasts and rejoicings.* In this palace he consecrated a statue of Victory, which still remain'd in the time of Dio ; and his intention, according to that historian, was to certify by that monument, that he obtained his right of supreme command by victory and arms. He adorned the two temples just now mentioned, and likewise several others, with precious ornaments carried out of Egypt. Thus he placed in the temple of Venus a golden statue of Cleopatra, and likewise embellished that Goddess with those magnificent pendants which I have mentioned elsewhere. But the greatest part of the riches which were the fruits of his victory he placed in the capitol. He even caused a decree to be passed

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passed in the senate, if we may believe Dio, to take out of it as prophane and polluted (but I cannot imagine in what respect) all the treasures which had formerly been amassed there, in order that the place might be left free for the new offerings which he there consecrated. I do not think we can refer to a more suitable occasion than this, the prodigious gift mentioned by Suetonius of sixteen thousand pound weight of gold, and to the value of one hundred and fifty millions of * sesterces in jewels, offered at once by Octavius to Jupiter Capitolinus.

* Eight
hundred
ninety
thousand
four
hundred
and thirty
eight
thousand
sterling.

In order to solemnize the dedication of the temple of Julius Cæsar, he gave to the people games and shews of all kinds, horse and chariot races in the circus; combats of gladiators, in which a senator, whom Dio calls Q. Vintelius, was fool-hardy enough to lose his honour and hazard his life; chaces of wild beasts brought from foreign countries, among which a rhinoceros and a sea horse are particularly mentioned; and last of all combats between troops of Suevii and Dacii, the former made prisoners by Carrinas, and the latter taken at Actium among the auxiliary troops of Antony.

The Trojan game.

To all these different kinds of shews, Octavius added one which he was particularly fond of, it was that called *the Trojan game*, so well described by Virgil, in the fifth book of his *Æneid*, and which consisted of horse-courses, performed by the children of the prime nobility. They divided themselves into different squadrons according to their age, and at the games I now speak of, Tiberius commanded the squadron of the first rank. Octavius was pleased

Suet. Tib.
6.

pleased with this exercise as Cæsar had been before, because he encouraged the opinion of the ancient nobility of the Julii ascending as high as Æneas. Besides he thought it proper in every respect for the young nobility to begin in this manner to make themselves known, and draw upon them the regard of the citizens.

The joy of these feasts, which lasted several days, was a little disturbed, but not interrupted, by Octavius's indisposition, his state of health being very delicate. He desired that the shews might be continued, though he was not able to be present at them, and he gave a commission to others to preside in his stead.

During all the time of the games the senators having distributed themselves in a proper manner, kept open tables by turns, in the porches of their houses; and they invited every one that passed to come and eat with them, in the same manner as was practised on other occasions of public rejoicings.

Octavius did not content himself with these temporary feasts. He wanted to transmit to posterity lasting monuments of a victory which rendered him master of the world, and these he erected at Actium and in Egypt.

Upon the promontory of Actium there was a temple of Apollo, which he enlarged and embellished. They had celebrated there time out of mind games every three years in honour of that God. He encreased the splendor and pomp of these games, but he prolonged the interval between them, and ordered, very probably to avoid their being abused, the common consequence of too frequent repetitions, that

An. R. 721.
Ant. C. 29.

Octavius's
indisposition.

Tit. Liv.
III. 29.

& XXV. 12.

He erects
monuments
of his vic-

tory at
Actium,

and in

Egypt.

Frein-

them.

CXXXIII.

& 10.

An. R. 723.
Ant. C. 29.

that they should be celebrated only once in five years. These are known in history under the name of the Actian games. Besides, he enclosed with walls the camp which he there occupied, and formed it into a town which he called Nicopolis, the *City of Victory*. In order to people it, he transported thither the inhabitants of Ambracia, and of some other neighbouring towns, which had suffered so greatly by the wars between the Macedonians and the Romans in this country, that they were rendered almost desolate. He granted to the Nicopolitans excellent privileges, and among others that of sharing in the council of the Amphictyons, an ancient and respectable tribunal, where all Greece was represented by twelve deputies of the principal states. This town became afterwards very flourishing, and at the time when Strabo wrote was improving every day. That spot of ground where Octavius's tent had been pitched was distinguished from the rest of the town, being surrounded with walls of free-stone, adorned with prows of vessels taken in the engagement, and consecrated by a statue of Apollo which was placed in the open air without any covering. Octavius even immortalized an ass and his leader, because they had afforded a happy presage to him. The morning he went out of his camp to fight Antony, having met a man who was leading an ass, he asked him his name, and the name of his beast. My name, says he, is *Eutychus*, which signifies happy, and my ass's name is *Nicon*, which signifies conqueror. Whether this adventure was purely accidental, or artfully contrived by Octavius to encourage his soldiers, he thought proper to preserve the memory

memory of it, and erected in Nicopolis two statues representing the ass and his master. An. R. 723.
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Such were the monuments, and in a manner the trophies with which Octavius took pleasure to adorn that place which had been the witness of the decisive action of his fortune. In Egypt where he had finished his victory, but without any danger, he built a second Nicopolis, upon the ground where he fought against Antony before Alexandria, and there instituted games like those at Actium.

In this manner Octavius congratulated himself in the view of the whole world, on being arrived at the height of his wishes. The methods by which he attained them, have been considered by his contemporaries in very different lights, and Tacitus has furnished us with a double view of it, which seems entirely adapted to terminate the representation which I have attempted to give of it at some length. *The methods which Octavius took to rise to the sovereignty of the empire considered in a double light.*

He mentions the speeches which were made on Augustus the day of his funeral¹. Those who favoured his memory said, that a just sense of gratitude and regard for his adoptive father, together with the necessity of the republic at a [time when the laws had lost their power, had forced him to engage in the civil war, and that if his conduct in it was sometimes blame-worthy,

¹ Hi pietate erga parentem, & necessitudine Reipublicæ, in qua nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum, quæ neque parati, neque haberi possent per bonos artes. Multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse. Postquam hic socordiâ senuerit, ille per libidines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium inventum, quàm ut ab uno regeretur.

A. R. 723. it was because it was not possible otherwise to
 Ant. C. 29. raise forces proper for such an enterprize, nor to govern them by the rules of an exact virtue. That he found himself under a necessity of granting many things to Antony, and even to Lepidus, in order to have it in his power to be avenged of the murderers of his father. And that afterwards, one of his two colleagues having disgraced himself by his effeminacy and incapacity, and the other ruined himself by his debaucheries, he found that the government of one person was the only remedy for the misfortunes of his country, fatigued and worn out by discords which could not be reconciled.

But ^m others who were less disposed to judge well of Octavius, alledged on the contrary, that the desire of revenging his father, and the disorders of the state, were only a pretext; that the ambition of governing was the true motive which induced him to shew his generosity to the veterans, to assemble an army without any character of publick authority,

^m Dicebatur contrà, pietatem erga parentem, & temporaria Reipublicæ obtentui sumpta: ceterùm cupiditate dominandi concitos per largitiones veteranos, paratum ab adolescente privato exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium. Mox ubi decreto patrum fasces & jus prætoris invaserit, cæsis Hirtio & Pansa . . . utriusque copias occupavisse. Extortum invito Senatu Consulatum: armaque quæ in Antonium acceperit contra Rempublicam versa. Proscriptionem civium, de visiones agrorum, ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatus. Sanè Cassii & Brutorum exitus paternis inimiciis datos: (quanquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere) sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos. Post Antonium Tarentino Brundusinoque scedere & nuptiis sororis inlectum subdolæ adfinitatis pœnas morte exsolvisse. *Vac. Ann. I. 9 & 10.*

and

and corrupt the legions of Antony, who was then consul, and to feign esteem and respect for Pompey's party, in order to take advantage of the good will which it bore to that cause. That having usurped the fasces and the prætorian power by a decree of which the senate did not foresee the consequences, after the fatal death of Hirtius and Pansa, who had thrown out a great many aspersions against him, he had taken possession of the troops of both. That he had taken possession of the consulship contrary to the inclination of the senators, and immediately after turned against the republic those arms she had put into his hands to make war against Antony. That it was just to blame the proscriptions and the distributions of lands to the soldiers, seeing those who were the immediate authors of them never dared to justify them. That they could very well forgive him the death of Cassius and the two Brutus's, as due to the vengeance of his father; (although after all it would have been more generous to have sacrificed his particular enmities to the good of the public) but that he had imposed upon Sextus Pompeius by a false shew of peace, and on Lepidus by an external appearance of friendship. That his conduct had been the same with regard to Antony, whom he had deceived by the treaties of Tarentum and Brundisium, and by the marriage of his sister; and who at last suffered death by this fraudulent alliance.

These two opinions, so opposite to each other, nevertheless contain something true in each of them. The last expresses naturally Octavius's intentions, and the other shews the advantages he procured to the empire.

K

And

A. R. 723. And it is evident from facts, that the monarchical government, was at that time the only resource of the Roman republic.
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Jesus

*Christ and
his church
the end of
all events.*

Thus I have represented as faithfully as I could the circumstances and causes of this great revolution; but it becomes Christians to raise their thoughts still higher, and to trace in the different turns of human affairs, and the sport of the passions, the divine Providence which governs them, and directs them to the execution of his designs of mercy towards mankind. Christ, who had been expected four thousand years, was now soon to be born, and every thing was ordered to facilitate the propagation of that heavenly doctrine which he brought with him.

The vast extent of the Roman empire, in connecting together, by a free and constant commerce, all the parts of the then known world, opened all the ways for the preachers of the Gospel; to which the terrible calamities of civil wars would have been a very great obstacle. The *Prince of peace* must then be born in the bosom of peace; and thus God raised up Octavius to put an end to all dissensions, and establish a lasting tranquillity in the empire. Even the establishment of monarchy in the Roman empire entered into the designs of God, with regard to his church. Societies are attached to their particular maxims, and we see that the senate of Rome continued still Pagan a great while after Christianity was mounted on the throne. The religion of Christ would have suffered an implacable and eternal war on the part of the senate, provided the power had continued in its hands; and the conversion of Constantine alone gave peace to

to the Church for ever, after it had been harassed and persecuted for the space of three ages. A. R. 723.
Ant. C. 29.

It is with this reflection that I take leave of my readers upon finishing this work, which I have put the last hand to in obedience to the commands of a master, whose memory I shall always respect, because in him piety equalled his other talents. Happy, if in following his footsteps, I regard all I can gather from Pagan antiquity, as the riches of Egypt, which ought to be consecrated to God and Jesus Christ. Happier still, if by the same Spirit directing my pen, I shall be able to inspire the like sentiments in those who do me the honour of becoming my readers.

A

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- Aquilius (M.)* his exploits in the war against Aristonicus, viii. 337. Poisons the springs of the cities of his enemies, *ibid.* He receives a triumph instead of the punishment he justly deserved, 338.
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Posthumius Regillensis (M.) one of the military Tribunes is stoned by the army. Punishment of that crime, ii. 226.

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Xantippus, the Lacedemonian, assists the Carthaginians with troops, and revives their courage, iv. 78. He beats Regulus, and takes him prisoner, 80. He retires, 83.

Xenophon, chief of the embassy of Philip to Hannibal. Stratagem which he makes use of, in order to escape out of the hands of the Romans, v. 139. He is taken with the other Embassadors and sent to Rome, 143. where they arrive with the Embassadors of Hannibal, who were also arrested, 149.

Xerxes, son of Mithridates, led in triumph by Pompey, xii. 44.

Y.

Yggis: In what consisted the ceremony of passing under it, i. 105. The Romans pass under it at Caudium, iii. 172. (See *Caudium*.) The Volsci pass under it, ii. 170. and the Samnites, iii. 182. and the Romans, ix. 151.

Z.

Zama, a city in Numidia, near which was fought the famous battle between Scipio and Hannibal, vi. 273. It is besieged by Metellus, ix. 163. It refuses to receive Juba, and shuts its gates against him, xiv. 161.

Zartienus, King of the Gordyenians, is put to death by Tigranes, xi. 70. Lucullus celebrates his obsequies, and erects a monument to him, *ibid*.

Zenobius, by order of Mithridates, treats in a cruel manner the island of Chio, x. 122. He is arrested and put to death by the Ephesians, 123.

Zeno (statue of) is the only part which Cato reserved to himself, when he took the treasures of Ptolemy, King of Cyprus, xii. 153.

Ziela, or *Zila*, a city, famous in the Roman History for the defeat of Triarius, xi. 84.

Zozima, wife of Tigranes, led in triumph by Pompey, xii. 44.

A R E.



A REGISTER OF THE CONSULS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I have thought proper to insert here a register of the Consuls from the foundation of Rome to the battle of Actium. The Latin authors, especially those who wrote of the time of the republic, almost always mark the year of their history by the names of the Consuls of that year, which renders this register very useful for pointing out any text contained in the history. This register includes not only the Consuls, but also the Kings who preceded them. And after the establishment of the Consulship, the other magistrates which have from time to time interrupted its succession, and consequently given their names to the year; that is to say the Decemviri, and the Military Tribunes invested with consular authority.

ROME founded,

The Year of the World 3253. Before Christ, 751.

A. R. 1 Romulus King.

Ant. C. 751 He reigned 37 years.

A. R. 38 Interregnum.

Ant. C. 714

A. R. 39. Numa second King.

Ant. C. 713 He reigned 43 years.

A. R. 82 Tullus Hostilius third

Ant. C. 670 King.

He reigned 32 years.

A. R. 114 Ancus Marcius fourth

Ant. C. 638 King,

He reigned 24 years.

A. R. 138 Tarquinius Priscus

Ant. C. 614 fifth King.

He reigned 38 years.

A. R. 176 Servius Tullius sixth

Ant. C. 576 King.

He reigned 44 years.

A. R. 220 Tarquin the proud

Ant. C. 532 seventh King.

He reigned 35 years.

CONSULS.

A. R. 245 L. Junius Brutus. He

Ant. C. 507. was killed, and in

his room was ap-

pointed

Sp. Lucretius Trici-

pitinus. He died,

and in his room was

C c 3

substi-

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

- | | |
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| <p>substituted,
M. Horatius Pulvil-
lius.
L. Tarquinius Col-
latinus. He was
obliged to abdi-
cate, and in his
room was substi-
tuted,
P. Valerius, who ob-
tained the surname
of Publicola.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 246 P. Valerius Publico-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 506. la. II.
T. Lucretius.
<i>A. R.</i> 247. P. Lucretius, or ac-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 505 cording to Diony-
sius Halicarn.
M. Horatius Pul-
villus II.
P. Valerius Publico-
la, III.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 248 Sp. Lartius
<i>Ant. C.</i> 504 T. Herminius.
<i>A. R.</i> 249 M. Valerius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 503 P. Posthumius.
<i>A. R.</i> 250 P. Valerius Publi-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 502 cola IV.
T. Lucretius II.
<i>A. R.</i> 251 Agrippa Menenius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 501 P. Posthumius II.
<i>A. R.</i> 252 Opiter Virginus.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 500 Sp. Cassius.
<i>A. R.</i> 253 Posthumius Comi-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 499 nius.
T. Lartius.
<i>A. R.</i> 254 Ser. Sulpicius
<i>Ant. C.</i> 498 Man. Tullius.
<i>A. R.</i> 255. P. Veturius Gemi-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 497 nus.
T. Æbutius Elva.
<i>A. R.</i> 256 T. Lartius II.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 496 L. Cloelius.</p> <p>First Dictator T. LARTIUS.
<i>A. R.</i> 257 A Sempronius A-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 495 tratinus.
M. Minucius.</p> | <p><i>A. R.</i> 258 A. Posthumius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 494 T. Virginus.
Battle of the Lake of Regillæ.
<i>A. R.</i> 259 Ap. Claudius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 493 P. Servilius.
<i>A. R.</i> 260 A. Virginus.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 492 T. Vestusius.
<i>A. R.</i> 261 Posthumius Comini-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 491. us II.
Sp. Cassius II.</p> <p>Establishment of the Tribunes of
People.
<i>A. R.</i> 262 T. Geganius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 490 P. Minucius.
<i>A. R.</i> 263 M. Minucius II,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 489 A. Sempronius II.
<i>A. R.</i> 264 Q. Sulpicius Came-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 488 rinus.
Sp. Lartius Flavus
II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 265 C. Julius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 487 P. Pinarius.
<i>A. R.</i> 266 Sp. Nautius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 486 Sex. Furius.
<i>A. R.</i> 267 T. Sicinius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 485 C. Aquillius.
<i>A. R.</i> 268 Sp. Cassius III.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 484 Proculus Virginus.
<i>A. R.</i> 269 Ser. Cornelius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 483 Q. Fabius.
<i>A. R.</i> 270 L. Æmilius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 482 Cæso Fabius.
<i>A. R.</i> 271 M. Fabius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 481 L. Valerius.
<i>A. R.</i> 272 Q. Fabius II.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 480 C. Julius.
<i>A. R.</i> 273 Cæso Fabius II.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 479 Sp. Furius.
<i>A. R.</i> 274 M. Fabius II.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 478 Cn. Manlius.
<i>A. R.</i> 275 Cæso Fabius III.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 477 T. Virginus.
<i>A. R.</i> 276 L. Æmilius II.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 476 C. Servilius.
C. Horatius.</p> |
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A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 277 C. Horatius.
Ant. C. 475 T. Menenius.

Defeat of the Fabii near Cre-
 mera.

A. R. 278 Sp. Servilius.
Ant. C. 474 A. Virginus.
A. R. 279 C. Nautius.
Ant. C. 473 P. Valerius.
A. R. 280 L. Furius.
Ant. C. 472 A. Manlius.
A. R. 281 L. Æmilius III.
Ant. C. 471 Opiter Virginus, or,
 according to other
 Authors
 Vopiscus Julius.

A. R. 282 L. Pinarius
Ant. C. 470 P. Furius.
A. R. 283 Ap. Claudius.
Ant. C. 469 T. Quintius Capito-
 linus.
A. R. 284 L. Valerius II.
Ant. C. 468 Ti. Æmilius.
A. R. 285 T. Numicius Prif-
Ant. C. 467 cus

A. Virginus.
A. R. 286. T. Quintius Capito-
Ant. C. 466 binus II.
 Q. Servilius.
A. R. 287 Ti. Æmilius II.
Ant. C. 465 Q. Fabius.
A. R. 288 Q. Servilius II.
Ant. C. 464 Sp. Posthumus.
A. R. 289 Q. Fabius II.
Ant. C. 463 T. Quintius Capito-
 linus III.

A. R. 290 A. Posthumus
Ant. C. 462 Sp. Furius.
A. R. 291 L. Æbutius.
Ant. C. 461 P. Servilius.
A. R. 292 L. Lucretius Trici-
Ant. C. 460 pitinus.
 T. Veturius Gemi-
 nus.

A. R. 293 P. Volumnius.
Ant. C. 459 Ser. Sulpicius.

A. R. 294 C. Claudius.
Ant. C. 458 P. Valerius II. He
 was killed, and in
 his room was sub-
 stituted.

L. Quintius Cincin-
 natus

A. R. 295 Q. Fabius III.
Ant. C. 457 L. Cornelius.
A. R. 296 L. Minucius.
Ant. C. 456 C. Nautius II.
A. R. 297 Q. Minucius.
Ant. C. 455 C. Horatius.
A. R. 298 M. Valerius.
Ant. C. 454 Sp. Virginus.
A. R. 299 T. Romilius.
Ant. C. 453 C. Veturius.
A. R. 300 Sp. Tarpeius.
Ant. C. 452 A. Aterius.
A. R. 301 P. Curiatius.
Ant. C. 451 Sex. Quintilius.
A. R. 302 C. Menenius.
Ant. C. 450 P. Sestius Capitoli-
 nus.

DECEMVIRI.

A. R. 303 Ap. Claudius,
Ant. C. 449 P. Sestus Capitoli-
 nus,
 Ser. Sulpicius,
 T. Romilius,
 L. Valerius,
 T. Genutius,
 Sp. Posthumus,
 A. Manlius,
 C. Julius,
 P. Horatius.
A. R. 304 Ap. Claudius II.
Ant. C. 448 M. Cornelius Malu-
 ginensis,
 L. Minucius,
 Man. Rabuleius,
 Cæso Duilius,
 Q. Fabius Vibula-
 nus,
 M. Servilius,

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

<p>T. Antonius, Q. Poetilius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen. <i>A. R.</i> 305 The same Decem- <i>Ant. C.</i> 447 vii continued.</p>	<p>Posthumus Æbutius Cornicen. <i>A. R.</i> 314 C. Furius Pacilus, <i>Ant. C.</i> 438 M. Papirius Crassus. <i>A. R.</i> 315 Proculus Geganius <i>Ant. C.</i> 437 Macerinus, L. Menenius Lanatus.</p>
<p>The Consulship restored. <i>A. R.</i> 306 L. Valerius Potitus, <i>Ant. C.</i> 446 M. Horatius Barba- tus.</p>	<p><i>A. R.</i> 316 T. Quintius Capito- <i>Ant. C.</i> 436 linus VI, Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.</p>
<p><i>A. R.</i> 307 L. Herminius, <i>Ant. C.</i> 445 T. Virginus. <i>A. R.</i> 308 M. Geganius Mace- <i>Ant. C.</i> 444 rinus, C. Julius.</p>	<p><i>A. R.</i> 317 Mamercus Æmilius, <i>Ant. C.</i> 435 L. Julius, L. Quintius Cincin- natus.</p>
<p><i>A. R.</i> 309 T. Quintius Capito- <i>Ant. C.</i> 443 linus IV, Agrippa Furius.</p>	<p><i>A. R.</i> 318 M. Geganius Mace- <i>Ant. C.</i> 434 rinus III, L. Sergius Fidenas.</p>
<p><i>A. R.</i> 310 M. Genucius, <i>Ant. C.</i> 442 C. Curtius.</p>	<p><i>A. R.</i> 319 M. Cornelius Malu- <i>Ant. C.</i> 433 ginensis, L. Papirius Crassus.</p>
<p>First Military Tribunes with the Consular Power.</p>	<p><i>A. R.</i> 320 C. Julius II, <i>Ant. C.</i> 432 L. Virginus.</p>
<p><i>A. R.</i> 311 A. Sempronius, <i>Ant. C.</i> 441 T. Cloelius, L. Attilius.</p>	<p><i>A. R.</i> 321 C. Julius III, <i>Ant. C.</i> 431 L. Virginus II.</p>
<p>These abdicated, and in their room were substituted the Consuls, L. Papirius Mugilanus. L. Sempronius A- tratinus.</p>	<p><i>A. R.</i> 322 M. Fabius Vibula- <i>Ant. C.</i> 430 nus, L. Sergius Fidenas, M. Fostlius. <i>A. R.</i> 323 L. Pinarius Mamer- <i>Ant. C.</i> 429 cinus, Sp. Posthumus Al- bus, L. Furius Medulli- nus.</p>
<p><i>A. R.</i> 312 * M. Geganius Ma- <i>Ant. C.</i> 440 cerinus II, T. Quintius Capito- linus V.</p>	<p><i>A. R.</i> 324 T. Quintius Pennus <i>Ant. C.</i> 428 Cincinnatus, C. Julius Mento.</p>
<p>Establishment of the Censorship. <i>A. R.</i> 313 M. Fabius Vibula- <i>Ant. C.</i> 439 nus,</p>	<p><i>A. R.</i> 325 L. Papirius Cras- <i>Ant. C.</i> 427 sus, L. Julius.</p>

* During the succeeding years the Consuls and military Tribunes are intermixt; but they may easily be distinguished by the difference of the number, there being never above two Consuls, nor less than three Tribunes.

L. Ser-

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

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| <p><i>A. R.</i> 326 L. Sergius Fidenas
<i>Ant. C.</i> 426 II,
Hostus Lucretius
Tricipitinus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 327 A Cornelius Cossus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 425 T. Quintius Pennus
Cincinnatus II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 328 C. Servilius Ahala,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 424 L. Papirius Mugilanus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 329 T. Quintius Pennus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 423 M. Posthumius,
C. Furius,
A. Cornelius Cossus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 330 A. Sempronius Atratinus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 422 L. Furius Medullinus,
L. Quintius Cincinnatus II,
L. Horatius Barbatus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 331 Ap. Claudius Crassus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 421 L. Sergius Fidenas,
Sp. Nautius Rutilus,
Sex. Julius Iulus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 332 C. Sempronius Atratinus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 420 Q. Fabius Vibulanus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 333 L. Manlius Capitolinus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 419 L. Papirius Mugilanus,
Q. Antonius Merenda.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 334 Numerius Fabius Vibulanus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 418 L. Quintius Cincinnatus III,
T. Quintius Capitolinus,
L. Furius Medullinus.</p> | <p><i>A. R.</i> 335 M. Manlius,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 417 A. Sempronius Atratinus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 336 Agrippa Menenius
<i>Ant. C.</i> 416 Lanatus,
Sp. Nautius,
P. Lucretius Tricipitinus,
C. Servilius.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 337 L. Sergius Fidenas,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 415 C. Servilius,
M. Papirius Mugilanus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 338 Agrippa Menenius
<i>Ant. C.</i> 414 Lanatus II,
P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, II.
L. Servilius Structus
Sp. Rutilus Crassus.
A. Sempronius Atratinus III,
<i>A. R.</i> 339 <i>Ant. C.</i> 413 Q. Fabius Vibulanus,
M. Papirius Mugilanus II,
Sp. Nautius Rutilus II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 340 P. Cornelius Cossus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 412 Q. Quintius Cincinnatus,
C. Valerius Potitus,
Numerius Fabius Vibulanus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 341 Cn. Cornelius Cossus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 411 Q. Fabius Vibulanus II,
L. Valerius Potitus,
M. Posthumius Regillensis.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 342 M. Cornelius Cossus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 410 L. Furius Medullinus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 343 Q. Fabius Ambustus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 409 C. Furius Pacilus,
M. Papi-</p> |
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A REGISTER. of the CONSULS.

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| <p><i>A. R.</i> 344 <i>M.</i> Papirius Atratinus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 408 <i>C.</i> Nautius Rutilus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 345 <i>Man. Æmilius</i> Mamer-
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 407 <i>mercinus</i>,
 <i>C.</i> Valerius Potitus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 346 <i>Cn. Cornelius</i> Cof-
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 406 <i>fus</i>,
 <i>L.</i> Furius Medullinus II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 347 <i>C.</i> Julius Iulus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 405 <i>C.</i> Servilius Ahala,
 <i>P.</i> Cornelius Cossus,</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 348 <i>L.</i> Furius Medullinus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 404 <i>Num.</i> Fabius Vibullanus,
 <i>C.</i> Valerius Potitus II.
 <i>C.</i> Servilius Ahala II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 349 <i>P.</i> Cornelius Cossus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 403 <i>Num.</i> Fabius Ambustus,
 <i>Cn. Cornelius</i> Cof-
 <i>fus</i>,
 <i>L.</i> Valerius Potitus II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 350 <i>T.</i> Quintius Capitolinus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 402 <i>C.</i> Julius Iulus II.
 <i>L.</i> Furius Medullinus,
 <i>L.</i> Quintius Cincinnatus,
 <i>A.</i> Manlius,
 <i>Man. Æmilius</i> Mamer-
 <i>mercinus</i>.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 351 <i>C.</i> Valerius Potitus
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 401 III,
 <i>P.</i> Cornelius Maluginensis,
 <i>Cæso</i> Fabius Ambustus,
 <i>Man. Sergius</i> Fidenas,</p> | <p><i>Cn. Cornelius</i> Cof-
 <i>fus</i>,
 <i>Sp.</i> Nautius Rutilus III.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 352 <i>Man. Æmilius</i> Mamer-
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 400 <i>mercinus</i> II,
 <i>Ap.</i> Claudius Crassus,
 <i>L.</i> Julius Iulus,
 <i>L.</i> Valerius Potitus III,
 <i>M.</i> Quintilius Varus,
 <i>M.</i> Posthumius.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 353 <i>C.</i> Servilius Ahala
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 399 III,
 <i>L.</i> Virginius,
 <i>A.</i> Manlius II,
 <i>Q.</i> Servilius,
 <i>Q.</i> Sulpicius,
 <i>Man. Sergius</i> Fidenas II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 354 <i>L.</i> Valerius Potitus
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 398 IV,
 <i>Man. Æmilius</i> Mamer-
 <i>mercinus</i> III,
 <i>Cæso</i> Fabius Ambustus II,
 <i>M.</i> Furius Camillus,
 <i>Cn. Cornelius</i> Cof-
 <i>fus</i> II,
 <i>L.</i> Julius Iulus.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">First plebeian military Tribunes.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 355 <i>P.</i> Lucinius Calvus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 397 <i>L.</i> Titinius,
 <i>L.</i> Furius Medullinus,
 <i>P.</i> Mænius,
 <i>P.</i> Mælius,
 <i>S.</i> Publilius Volscus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 356 <i>M.</i> Veturius,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 396 <i>C.</i> Duilius,
 <i>Cn.</i> Genucius,
 <i>M.</i> Pomponius,
 <i>Volero</i> Publilius,
 <i>L.</i> Atilius.
 <div style="text-align: right;"><i>L.</i> Valerius,</div></p> |
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A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 357 L. Valerius Potitus
Ant. C. 395 V,

M. Valerius Maximus,
Q. Servilius Fidenas,
M. Furius Camillus II,
L. Furius Medullinus,
Q. Sulpicius Camerinus II,

A. R. 358 L. Julius Iulus II,
Ant. C. 394 L. Sergius Fidenas.
P. Cornelius Maluginensis II,
L. Furius Medullinus,

A. Posthumius Regillensis,
A. Manlius III.

A. R. 359 P. Licinius Calvus,
Ant. C. 393 P. Mænius II,
Cn. Genucius II,
L. Titinius II,
P. Mælius II,
L. Atilius II.

Siege of Veii.

A. R. 360 P. Cornelius Cossus,
Ant. C. 392 M. Valerius Maximus II,
L. Furius Medullinus,
P. Cornelius Scipio,
Cæso Fabius Ambustus II,
Q. Servilius III.

A. R. 361 M. Furius Camillus
Ant. C. 391 III,
C. Æmilius,
Sp. Posthumius,
L. Furius Medullinus,
L. Varius Publicola,
P. Cornelius Scipio II.

A. R. 362 L. Lucretius Flavius,
Ant. C. 390 Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

A. R. 363 L. Valerius Potitus,
Ant. C. 389 M. Manlius.

A. R. 364 L. Lucretius,
Ant. C. 388 M. Æmilius,
Agrippa Furius,
Ser. Sulpicius,
L. Furius Medullinus,
C. Æmilius II.

A. R. 365 The three Fabii,
Ant. C. 387 Q. Servilius IV,
Q. Sulpicius Longus,
Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.

Battle of Allia, followed by the siege of Rome.

A. R. 366 Valerius Publicola
Ant. C. 386 II,
P. Cornelius,
L. Æmilius,
L. Virginus,
A. Manlius,
L. Posthumius:

A. R. 367 T. Quintius Cincinnatus,
Ant. C. 385 L. Julius Iulus,
L. Lucretius Tricipitinus,
Q. Servilius Fidenas V.
L. Aquilius Corvus,
Ser. Sulpicius Rufus.

A. R. 368 L. Papirius Cursor,
Ant. C. 384 C. Sergius,
L. Menenius,
C. Cornelius,
L. Æmilius II,
L. Valerius Publicola III.

A. R. 369 M. Furius Camillus IV,
Ant. C. 383

Q. Ser-

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

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| <p>Q. Servilius Fidenas
VI,
L. Horatius Pulvil-
lus,
Ser. Cornelius Ma-
luginensis II,
L. Quintius Cincin-
natus,
P. Valerius Potitus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 370 <i>A.</i> Manlius II,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 382 <i>T.</i> Quintius Capito-
linus,
<i>L.</i> Papirius Cursor II.
<i>P.</i> Cornelius,
<i>L.</i> Quintius Capito-
linus
<i>C.</i> Sergius II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 371 <i>Ser. Cornelius Ma-</i>
<i>Ant. C.</i> 381 <i>luginensis III,</i>
<i>M.</i> Furius Camillus
V,
<i>C.</i> Papirius Crassus,
<i>P.</i> Valerius Potitus II.
<i>Ser.</i> Sulpicius Ru-
fus II,
<i>T.</i> Quintius Cincin-
natus II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 372 <i>L. Valerius Publico-</i>
<i>Ant. C.</i> 380 <i>la IV,</i>
<i>Ser.</i> Sulpicius Rufus
III,
<i>L.</i> Æmilius III,
<i>A.</i> Manlius III,
<i>L.</i> Lucretius Trici-
pitinus II,
<i>M.</i> Trebonius.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 373 <i>Sp. Papirius,</i>
<i>Ant. C.</i> 379 <i>Ser. Cornelius Ma-</i>
<i>luginensis IV,</i>
<i>Ser.</i> Sulpicius,
<i>L.</i> Papirius,
<i>Q.</i> Servilius,
<i>L.</i> Æmilius IV.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 374 <i>M. Furius Camillus</i>
<i>Ant. C.</i> 378 <i>VI,</i></p> | <p><i>A.</i> Posthumius Regil-
lensis,
<i>L.</i> Lucretius Tricipi-
tinus III,
<i>L.</i> Furius,
<i>L.</i> Posthumius Re-
gillensis,
<i>M.</i> Fabius Ambus-
tus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 375 <i>L. Valerius Publico-</i>
<i>Ant. C.</i> 377 <i>la V,</i>
<i>C.</i> Sergius III,
<i>Sp.</i> Papirius Cursor,
<i>P.</i> Valerius Potitus
III,
<i>L.</i> Menenius II,
<i>Ser. Cornelius Ma-</i>
<i>luginensis V.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 376 <i>P. Manlius,</i>
<i>Ant. C.</i> 376 <i>L. Julius,</i>
<i>M.</i> Albinus,
<i>C.</i> Manlius,
<i>C.</i> Sextilius,
<i>L.</i> Antistius.
<i>Sp.</i> Furius,
<i>A. R.</i> 377
<i>Ant. C.</i> 375 <i>C. Licinius,</i>
<i>M.</i> Horatius,
<i>Q.</i> Servilius II,
<i>P.</i> Clælius,
<i>L.</i> Leganius,
<i>A. R.</i> 378 <i>L. Æmilius V,</i>
<i>Ant. C.</i> 374 <i>C. Veturius,</i>
<i>L. Quintius Cincin-</i>
<i>natus,</i>
<i>P.</i> Valerius Potitus
IV,
<i>Ser.</i> Sulpicius II,
<i>C.</i> Quintius Cincin-
natus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 379 <i>L. Papirius,</i>
<i>Ant. C.</i> 373 <i>Ser. Sulpicius,</i>
<i>L.</i> Menenius,
<i>Ser.</i> Cornelius.</p> <p>Five years pass without Curule
Magistrates.
L. Furius</p> |
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A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 385 L. Furius,
Ant. C. 367 Ser. Sulpicius III,
P. Valerius Potitus
V.

A. Manlius,
Ser. Cornelius,
C. Valerius.

A. R. 386 M. Fabius Ambuf-
Ant. C. 366 tus II,

C. Veturius II,
M. Cornelius,
Q. Servilius III,
A. Cornelius,
Q. Quintius.

A. R. 387 T. Quintius,
Ant. C. 365 Ser. Sulpicius IV,

L. Papirius,
Ser. Cornelius,
Sp. Servilius,
L. Veturius.

A. R. 388 A. Cornelius,
Ant. C. 364 M. Geganius,
L. Veturius II,
M. Cornelius II,
P. Manlius II,
P. Valerius Potitus
VI.

First plebeian Consul.

Establishment of the Pretorship
and of the Curule Ædileship.

A. R. 389 L. Æmilius Mamer-
Ant. C. 363 cinus,
L. Sextius Lateranus.

A. R. 390 L. Genucius,
Ann. C. 362 Q. Servilius Ahala.

A. R. 391 C. Sulpicius Pæticus.
Ant. C. 361 C. Licinius Stolo.

A. R. 392 Cn. Genucius,
Ant. C. 360 L. Æmilius Mamer-
cinus II.

A. R. 393 Q. Servilius Ahala
II.

Ant. C. 359 L. Genucius II.

A. R. 394 C. Sulpicius Pæticus
Ant. C. 358 II,

C. Licinius Stolo II.

A. R. 395 C. Poetelius Balbus,
Ant. C. 357 M. Fabius Ambustus.

A. R. 396 M. Popilius Lænas,
Ant. C. 356 Cn. Manlius.

A. R. 397 C. Fabius,
Ant. C. 355 C. Plautius.

A. R. 398 C. Marcius Rutilus,
Ant. C. 354 Cn. Manlius II.

A. R. 399 M. Fabius Ambuf-
Ant. C. 353 tus II,

M. Popilius Lænas
II.

A. R. 400 C. Sulpicius Pæticus
Ant. C. 352 III,

M. Valerius Publi-
cola.

A. R. 401 M. Fabius Ambuf-
Ant. C. 351 tus, III,

T. Quintius.

A. R. 402 C. Sulpicius Pæticus
Ant. C. 350 IV,

M. Valerius Publi-
cola II.

A. R. 403 P. Valerius Publi-
Ant. C. 349 cola,

C. Marcius Rutilus.
II.

A. R. 404 C. Sulpicius Pæticus
Ant. C. 348 V.

T. Quintius Pennus.

A. R. 405 M. Popilius Lænas
Ant. C. 347 III,

L. Cornelius Scipio.

A. R. 406 L. Furius Camil-
Ant. C. 346 lus,

Ap. Claudius Cras-
sus.

A. R. 407 M. Valerius Corvus,
Ant. C. 345 M. Popilius Lænas
IV.

A. R. 408 T. Manlius Torqua-
Ant. C. 344 tus,

C. Plautius.

A. R. 409 M. Valerius Corvus
Ant. C. 343 II,

C. Poetelius.

M. Fabius

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

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| <p><i>A. R.</i> 410 M. Fabius Dorso,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 342 Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 411 C. Marcius Rutilus
<i>Ant. C.</i> 341 III,
M. Manlius Torquatus II.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">War with the Samnites.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 412 M. Valerius Corvus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 340 III,
A. Cornelius Cossus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 413 C. Marcius Rutilus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 339 IV.
Q. Servilius.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 414 C. Plautius, II,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 338 L. Æmilius Mamercinus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 415 T. Manlius Torquatus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 337 P. Decius Mus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 416 Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 336 Q. Publilius Philo.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 417 L. Furius Camillus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 335 C. Mœnius.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 418 C. Sulpicius Longus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 334 P. Ælius Pætus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 419 L. Papirius Crassus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 333 Cæso Duilius.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 420 M. Valerius Corvus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 332 IV.
M. Atilius Regulus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 421 T. Veturius,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 331 Sp. Posthumius.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 422 A. Cornelius Cossus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 330 II,
Cn. Domitius.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 423 M. Claudius Marcellus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 329 C. Valerius Potitus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 424 L. Papirius Cursor,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 328 C. Poetelius Libo.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 425 L. Papirius Crassus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 327 II,
L. Plautius Venno.</p> | <p><i>A. R.</i> 426 L. Æmilius Mamercinus, II,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 326 C. Plautius.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 427 P. Plautius Proculus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 325 P. Cornelius Scapula.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 428 L. Cornelius Lentulus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 324 Q. Publilius Philo, II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 429 C. Poetelius Libo, II,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 323 L. Papirius Mugilanus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 430 L. Furius Camillus, II,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 322 D. Junius Brutus Scæva.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 431 C. Sulpicius Longus, II,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 321 Q. Aulius Cerretanus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 432 Q. Fabius,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 320 L. Fulvius.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 433 T. Veturius Calvinus, II,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 319 Sp. Posthumius Albinus, II.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Disaster at Caudium.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 434 L. Papirius Cursor,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 318 II,
Q. Publilius Philo, III.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 435 L. Papirius Cursor, III,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 317 Q. Aulius Cerretanus, II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 436 M. Fostius Flaccinator,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 316 L. Plautius Venno.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 437 C. Junius Bubulcus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 315 Q. Æmilius Barbula.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 438 Sp. Nautius,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 314 M. Popillius.</p> |
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L. Papirius

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

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| <p><i>A. R.</i> 439 <i>L. Papirius Cursor,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 313 <i>IV,</i>
 <i>Q. Publilius Philo,</i>
 <i>IV.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 440 <i>M. Poetilius,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 312 <i>C. Sulpicius Lon-</i>
 <i>gus, III.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 441. <i>L. Papirius Cursor,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 311 <i>V,</i>
 <i>C. Junius Bubulcus,</i>
 <i>II.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 442 <i>M. Valerius,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 310 <i>P. Decius Mus.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 443 <i>C. Junius Bubulcus</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 309 <i>III.</i>
 <i>Q. Æmilius Barbula</i>
 <i>II.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 444 <i>Q. Fabius II,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 308 <i>C. Marcius Rutilus.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 445 <i>Q. Fabius III,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 307 <i>P. Decius Mus II.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 446 <i>Ap. Claudius,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 306 <i>L. Volumnius.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 447 <i>P. Cornelius Arvina.</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 305 <i>Q. Marcius Tremu-</i>
 <i>lus.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 448 <i>L. Posthumius Me-</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 304 <i>gellus,</i>
 <i>Ti. Minucius.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 449 <i>P. Sulpicius Saver-</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 303 <i>rio,</i>
 <i>P. Sempronius So-</i>
 <i>phus.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 450 <i>L. Genucius,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 302 <i>Ser. Cornelius.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 451 <i>M. Livius,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 301 <i>L. Æmilius.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 452 <i>M. Valerius Corvus</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 300 <i>V,</i>
 <i>Q. Appuleius.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 453 <i>M. Fulvius Pætinus,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 299 <i>T. Manlius Tor-</i>
 <i>quatus. He died of</i>
 <i>a fall from a horse,</i>
 <i>and in his stead</i></p> | <p style="text-align: right;"><i>was substituted,</i>
 <i>M. Valerius Cor-</i>
 <i>vus VI.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 454 <i>L. Cornelius Scipio,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 298 <i>Cn. Fulvius.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 455 <i>Q. Fabius Maximus</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 297 <i>IV,</i>
 <i>P. Decius Mus III.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 456 <i>L. Volumnius II,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 296 <i>Ap. Claudius II.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 457 <i>Q. Fabius Maximus</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 295 <i>V.</i>
 <i>P. Decius Mus IV.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 458 <i>L. Posthumius Me-</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 294 <i>gellus II,</i>
 <i>M. Atilius Regulus.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 459 <i>L. Papirius Cursor,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 293 <i>Sp. Carvilius.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 460 <i>Q. Fabius Gurges,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 292 <i>D. Junius Brutus</i>
 <i>Scæva.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 461 <i>L. Posthumius Me-</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 291 <i>gellus III,</i>
 <i>C. Junius Brutus.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 462 <i>P. Cornelius Rufi-</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 290 <i>nus,</i>
 <i>Man. Curius Denta-</i>
 <i>tus.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 463 <i>M. Valerius Corvi-</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 289 <i>nus,</i>
 <i>Q. Cædicius Noctua.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 464 <i>Q. Marcius Tremu-</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 288 <i>lus,</i>
 <i>P. Cornelius Arvina.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 465 <i>M. Claudius Mar-</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 287 <i>cellus,</i>
 <i>C. Nautius.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 466 <i>M. Valerius Potitus,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 286 <i>C. Ælius Pætus.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 467 <i>L. Claudius Canina,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 285 <i>M. Æmilius Lepi-</i>
 <i>du.</i></p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 468 <i>C. Servilius Tucca,</i>
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 284 <i>T. Cæcilius Metel-</i>
 <i>lus.</i></p> |
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P. Corne-

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 469 *P.* Cornelius Dola-
Ant. C. 283 bella,
Cn. Domitius Cal-
vinus.

A. R. 470 *Q.* Æmilius Papus,
Ant. C. 282 *C.* Fabricius Lusci-
nus.

A. R. 471 *L.* Æmilius Barbula,
Ant. C. 281 *Q.* Marcus Philip-
pus.

War with Pyrrhus.

A. R. 472 *P.* Valerius Lævi-
Ant. C. 280 nus.

Ti. Coruncanius.

A. R. 473 *P.* Sulpicius Saverrio
Ant. C. 279 *P.* Decius Mus.

A. R. 474 *C.* Fabricius Lusci-
Ant. C. 278 nus II.

Q. Æmilius Papus.

A. R. 475 *P.* Cornelius Rufi-
Ant. C. 277 nus II,

C. Junius Brutus II.

A. R. 476 *Q.* Fabius Gurges II,
Ant. C. 276 *C.* Genucius Clep-
fina.

A. R. 477 *Man.* Curius Den-
Ant. C. 275 ratus II,

L. Cornelius Lentu-
lus.

A. R. 478 *Man.* Curius Denta-
Ant. C. 274 tus III,

Ser. Cornelius Len-
tulus.

A. R. 479 *C.* Fabius Dorso,
Ant. C. 273 *C.* Claudius Canina
II.

A. R. 480 *L.* Papirius Cursor
Ant. C. 272 II,

Sp. Carvilius II.

A. R. 481 *L.* Genucius,

Ant. C. 271 *C.* Quintius.

A. R. 482 *C.* Genucius,

Ant. C. 270 *Cn.* Cornelius.

A. R. 483 *C.* Ogulnius Gallus,
Ant. C. 269 *C.* Fabius Pictor.

A. R. 484 *P.* Sempronius So-
Ant. C. 268 phus,

Ap. Claudius Cras-
sus.

A. R. 485 *M.* Atilius Regulus,
Ant. C. 267 *L.* Julius Libo.

A. R. 486 *Num.* Fabius,

Ant. C. 266 *D.* Junius.

A. R. 487 *Q.* Fabius Gurges
Ant. C. 265 III,

L. Mamilius Vitu-
lus.

First Punic war.

A. R. 488 *Ap.* Claudius Cau-
Ant. C. 264 dex,

M. Fulvius Flaccus.

A. R. 489 *Man.* Valerius Max-
Ant. C. 263 imus,

Man. Otacilius Cras-
sus.

A. R. 490 *L.* Posthumus Me-
Ant. C. 262 gellus,

Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

A. R. 491 *L.* Valerius Flaccus,
Ant. C. 261 *T.* Otacilius Crassus.

A. R. 492 *Cn.* Cornelius Scipio
Ant. C. 260 Afina,

C. Duilius.

A. R. 493 *L.* Cornelius Scipio,
Ant. C. 259 *C.* Aquilius Florus.

A. R. 494 *A.* Atilius Calatinus,
Ant. C. 258 *C.* Sulpicius Pater-
culus.

A. R. 495 *C.* Atilius Regulus,

Ant. C. 257 *Cn.* Cornelius Blasio.

A. R. 496 *L.* Manlius Vulso,

Ant. C. 256 *Q.* Cædicius. He dies
and in his room
was substituted,

M. Atilius Regulus
II.

A. R. 497 *Ser.* Fulvius Pætinus
Ant. C. 255 Nobilior.

M. Æmilius Paulus.

I

Ser.

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

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| <p><i>A. R.</i> 498 Cn. Cornelius Sci-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 254 pio Afina II,
A. Atilius Calatinus
II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 499 Cn. Servilius Cæpio,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 253 C. Sempronius Blæ-
fus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 500 C. Aurelius Cotta,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 252 P. Servilius Gemi-
nus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 501 L. Cæcilius Metel-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 251 lus,
C. Furius Pacilus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 502 C. Atilius Regulus
<i>Ant. C.</i> 250 II,
L. Manlius Vulso II,</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 503 P. Claudius Pulcher,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 249 L. Junius Pullus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 404 C. Aurelius Cotta
<i>Ant. C.</i> 248 II,
P. Servilius Gemi-
nus II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 505 L. Cæcilius Metellus
<i>Ant. C.</i> 247 II.
Num. Fabius Bateo.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 506 Man. Otacilius Craf-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 246 fus II,
M. Fabius Licinus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 507 M. Fabius Buteo,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 245 C. Atilius Bulbus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 508 A. Manlius Torqua-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 244 tus Atticus,
C. Sempronius Blæ-
fus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 509 C. Fundanius Fun-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 243 dulus,
C. Sulpicius Gallus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 510 L. Lutatius Catulus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 242 A. Posthumius Al-
binus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 511 L. Lutatius Cerco,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 241 A. Manlius Torqua-
tus Atticus II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 512 C. Claudius Centho,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 240 M. Sempronius Tu-
ditanus.</p> | <p><i>A. R.</i> 513 C. Mamilius Turi-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 239 nus,
Q. Valerius Falto.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 514 Ti. Sempronius Grac-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 238 chus,
P. Valerius Falto.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 515 L. Cornelius Lentu-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 237 lus Caudinus,
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 516 P. Cornelius Lentu-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 236 lus Caudinus,
C. Licinius Varus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 517 C. Atilius Bulbus II,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 235 T. Manlius Torqua-
tus.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The temple of Janus shut.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 518 L. Posthumius Albi-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 234 nus,
Sp. Carvilius Maxi-
mus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 519 Q. Fabius Maximus
<i>Ant. C.</i> 233 Verrucosus,
Man. Pomponius
Matho.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 520 M. Æmilius Lepi-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 232 dus,
M. Publicius Mal-
leolus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 521 M. Pomponius Ma-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 231 tho,
C. Papirius Maso.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 522 M. Æmilius Barbu-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 230 lus
M. Junius Pera.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 523 L. Posthumius Albi-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 229 nus II,
Cn. Fulvius Centu-
malus.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 524 Sp. Carvilius Maxi-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 228 mus II,
Q. Fabius Maximus
Verrucosus II.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 525 P. Valerius Flaccus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 227 M. Atilius Regulus.
D d M. Vale-</p> |
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A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 526 M. Valerius Messalla,
Ant. C. 226 L. Apustius Fullo.

War with the Cisalpine Gauls.

A. R. 527 L. Æmilius Papus,
Ant. C. 225 C. Atilius Regulus.
A. R. 528 T. Manlius Torquatus II,
Ant. C. 224 Q. Fulvius Flaccus II.

A. R. 529 C. Flaminius.
Ant. C. 223 P. Furius Philus.
A. R. 530 M. Claudius Marcellus,
Ant. C. 222 Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

A. R. 531 P. Cornelius,
Ant. C. 221 M. Minucius Rufus.
A. R. 532 L. Veturius,
Ant. C. 220 C. Lutatius.
A. R. 533 M. Livius,
Ant. C. 219 L. Æmilius Paulus.

Second Punic war.

A. R. 534 P. Cornelius Scipio,
Ant. C. 218 Ti. Sempronius Longus.

A. R. 535 Cn. Servilius Geminus,
Ant. C. 217 C. Flaminius II.
He is killed in the Battle of Thrasymenus, and in his stead is substituted,
M. Atilius Regulus II.

A. R. 536 C. Terentius Varro,
Ant. C. 216 L. Æmilius Paulus II.

A. R. 537 Ti. Sempronius Gracchus,
Ant. C. 215 L. Posthumius Albinus III. He

died before he entered upon his charge, and in his room was substituted,

M. Claudius Marcellus II. He abdicated, and in his room was substituted,

Q. Fabius Verrucosus III.

A. R. 538 Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus IV,
Ant. C. 214 M. Claudius Marcellus III.

A. R. 539 Q. Fabius Maximus,
Ant. C. 213 Ti. Sempronius Gracchus II.

A. R. 540 Q. Fulvius Flaccus III,
Ant. C. 212 Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

A. R. 541 Cn. Fulvius Centumalus,
Ant. C. 211 P. Sulpicius Galba.

A. R. 542 M. Claudius Marcellus IV,
Ant. C. 210 M. Valerius Lævinus

A. R. 543 Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus V,
Ant. C. 209 Q. Fulvius Flaccus IV.

A. R. 544 M. Claudius Marcellus V,
Ant. C. 208 T. Quintius Crispinus.

A. R. 545 C. Claudius Nero,
Ant. C. 207 M. Livius II.

A. R. 546 L. Veturius,
Ant. C. 206 Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

A. R. 547 P. Cornelius Scipio,
Ant. C. 205 P. Licinius Crassus.
M. Corne-

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 548 M. Cornelius Cethe-
Ant. C. 204 gus,

P. Sempronius Tu-
ditanus.

A. R. 549 Cn. Servilius Cæpio,
Ant. C. 203 C. Servilius Gemi-
nus.

A. R. 550 M. Servilius,
Ant. C. 202 T. Claudius.

A. R. 551 Cn. Cornelius Len-
Ant. C. 201 tulus,
P. Ælius Pætus.

War against Philip.

A. R. 552 P. Sulpicius Galba
Ant. C. 200 II,

C. Aurelius Cotta.

A. R. 553 L. Cornelius Lentu-
Ant. C. 199 lus,

P. Villius Tapulus.

A. R. 554 Sex. Ælius Pætus,
Ant. C. 198 T. Quintius Flami-
ninus.

A. R. 555 C. Cornelius Cethe-
Ant. C. 197 gus,

Q. Minucius Rufus.

A. R. 556 L. Furius Purpureo,
Ant. C. 196 M. Claudius Mar-
cellus.

A. R. 557 L. Valerius Flaccus,
Ant. C. 195 M. Portius Cato.

A. R. 558 P. Cornelius Scipio
Ant. C. 194 Africanus II,

Ti. Sempronius Lon-
gus.

A. R. 559 L. Cornelius Meru-
Ant. C. 193 la,

Q. Minucius Ther-
mus.

A. R. 560 L. Quintius Flami-
Ant. C. 192 ninus,

Cn. Domitius Ahe-
nobarbus.

War against Antiochus.

A. R. 561 P. Cornelius Scipio
Ant. C. 191 Nasica,

Man. Acilius Gla-
brio.

A. R. 562 L. Cornelius Scipio,
Ant. C. 190 C. Lælius.

A. R. 563 M. Fulvius Nobi-
Ant. C. 189 lior,

Cn. Manlius Vulso.

A. R. 564 M. Valerius Messal-
Ant. C. 188 la,

C. Livius Salinator.

A. R. 565 M. Æmilius Lepi-
Ant. C. 187 dus,

C. Flaminius.

A. R. 566 Sp. Posthumius Al-
Ant. C. 186 binus.

Q. Marcius Philip-
pus.

A. R. 567 Ap. Claudius Pul-
Ant. C. 185 cher,

M. Sempronius Tu-
ditanus.

A. R. 568 P. Claudius Pulcher,
Ant. C. 184 L. Porcius Lucinus.

A. R. 169 M. Claudius Mar-
Ant. C. 183 cellus,

Q. Fabius Labeo.

A. R. 570 Cn. Bæbius Tam-
Ant. C. 182 philus,

L. Æmilius Paulus.

A. R. 571 P. Cornelius Cethe-
Ant. C. 181 gus,

M. Bæbius Tamphi-
lus,

A. R. 572 A. Posthumius Albi-
Ant. C. 180 nus Luscus,

C. Calphurnius Piso.
He died, and in
his room was elect-
ed,

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

A. R. 573 Q. Fulvius Flaccus,
Ant. C. 179 L. Manlius Acidi-
nus.

These two Consuls were bro-
thers.

D d 2

M. Juni-

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>A. R.</i> 574 M. Junius Brutus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 178 A. Manlius Vulso.
 <i>A. R.</i> 575 C. Claudius Pulcher,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 177 Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
 <i>A. R.</i> 576 Cn Cornelius Scipio
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 176 Hispalus. He died and in his room was elected,
 C. Valerius Lævinus.
 Q. Petillius Spurius. He was killed in War against the Ligurians.
 <i>A. R.</i> 577 P. Mucius Scævola,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 175 M. Æmilius Lepidus.
 <i>A. R.</i> 578 Sp. Posthumius Albinus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 174 Q. Mucius Scævola.
 <i>A. R.</i> 579 L. Posthumius Albinus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 173 M. Popillius Lænas.
 <i>A. R.</i> 580 C. Popillius Lænas,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 172 P. Ælius Ligur.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">War against Persia.</p> <p><i>A. R.</i> 581 P. Licinius Crassus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 171 C. Cassius Longinus.
 <i>A. R.</i> 582 A. Hostilius Mancinus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 170 A. Atilius Serranus.
 <i>A. R.</i> 583 Q. Marcius Philippus II,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 169 Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
 <i>A. R.</i> 584 L. Æmilius Paulus
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 168 II,
 L. Licinius Crassus.
 <i>A. R.</i> 585 Q. Ælius Pætus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 167 M. Junius Pennus.
 <i>A. R.</i> 586 C. Sulpicius Gallus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 166 M. Claudius Marcellus.
 <i>A. R.</i> 587 T. Manlius Torquatus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 165 Cn. Octavius.</p> | <p><i>A. R.</i> 588 A. Manlius Torquatus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 164 Q. Cassius Longinus.
 <i>A. R.</i> 589 Ti. Sempronius Gracchus II,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 163 Man. Juvencius Thalna.
 <i>A. R.</i> 590 P. Scipio Nafica,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 162 C. Marcius Figulus.
 These Consuls abdicated, and in their room were elected,
 P. Cornelius Lentulus,
 Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
 <i>A. R.</i> 591 M. Valerius Messalla,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 161 C. Fannius Strabo.
 <i>A. R.</i> 592 L. Anicius Gallus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 160 M. Cornelius Cethegus.
 <i>A. R.</i> 593 Cn. Cornelius Dolabella,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 159 M. Fulvius Nobilior.
 <i>A. R.</i> 594 M. Æmilius Lepidus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 158 C. Popillius Lænas.
 <i>A. R.</i> 595 Sex. Julius Cæsar,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 157 L. Aurelius Orestes.
 <i>A. R.</i> 596 L. Cornelius Lentulus,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 156 C. Marcius Figulus II.
 <i>A. R.</i> 597 P. Cornelius Scipio Nafica II,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 155 M. Claudius Marcellus II.
 <i>A. R.</i> 598 Q. Opimius,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 154 L. Posthumius Albinus.
 <i>A. R.</i> 599 Q. Fulvius Nobilior,
 <i>Ant. C.</i> 153 T. Annius Luscus.
 These Consuls entered on their charge the first of January, and</p> |
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A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

and their example passed afterwards into a rule.

A. R. 600 M. Claudius Marcellus III,
Ant. C. 152

L. Valerius Flaccus.

A. R. 601 L. Licinius Lucul-

Ant. C. 151 lus.

A. Posthumius Albinus,

A. R. 602 T. Quintius Flami-

Ant. C. 150 ninus,

Man. Acilius Balbus.

The third Punic war.

A. R. 603 L. Marcius Censori-

Ant. C. 149 nus,

Man. Manlius.

A. R. 604 Sp. Posthumius Al-

Ant. C. 148 binus,

L. Calphurnius Piso.

A. R. 605 P. Cornelius Scipio

Ant. C. 147 Africanus Æmili-

anus,

C. Livius Drusus.

A. R. 606 Cn. Cornelius Len-

Ant. C. 146 tulus,

L. Mummius.

A. R. 607 Q. Fabius Maximus

Ant. C. 145 Æmilianus,

L. Hostilius Mancinus.

A. R. 608 Ser. Sulpicius Galba,

Ant. C. 144 L. Aurelius Cotta.

A. R. 609 Ap. Claudius Pul-

Ant. C. 143 cher,

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.

A. R. 610 L. Cæcilius Metel-

Ant. C. 142 lus Calvus,

Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.

A. R. 611 Cn. Servilius Cæpio,

Ant. C. 141 Q. Pompeius.

A. R. 612 C. Lælius Sapiens,

Ant. C. 140 Q. Servilius Cæpio.

A. R. 613 Cn. Calphurnius Piso,

Ant. C. 139 M. Popillius Lænas.

A. R. 614 P. Cornelius Scipio

Ant. C. 138 Nasica,

D. Junius Brutus.

A. R. 615 M. Æmilius Lepi-

Ant. C. 137 dus,

C. Hostilius Mancinus.

A. R. 616 P. Furius Philus,

Ant. C. 136 Sex. Atilius Serranus.

A. R. 617 Ser. Fulvius Flaccus,

Ant. C. 135 C. Calphurnius Piso.

A. R. 618 P. Cornelius Scipio

Ant. C. 134 Africanus Æmili-

anus II,

C. Fulvius Flaccus:

A. R. 619 P. Mucius Scævola,

Ant. C. 133 L. Calphurnius Piso Frugi.

Sedition of Ti. Gracchus.

A. R. 620 P. Popillius Lænas,

Ant. C. 132 P. Rupilius.

A. R. 621 P. Licinius Crassus

Ant. C. 131. Mucianus,

L. Valerius Flaccus.

A. R. 622 P. Perperna,

Ant. C. 130 C. Claudius Pulcher.

A. R. 623 C. Sempronius Tu-

Ant. C. 129 ditanus,

Man. Aquillius.

A. R. 624 Cn. Octavius,

Ant. C. 128 T. Annius Rufus.

A. R. 625 L. Cassius Longinus,

Ant. C. 127 L. Cornelius Cinna.

A. R. 626 Man. Æmilius Le-

Ant. C. 126 pidus,

L. Aurelius Orestes.

A. R. 627 M. Plant. Hypsæus,

Ant. C. 125 M. Fulvius Flaccus.

A. R. 628 C. Cassius Longinus,

Ant. C. 124 C. Sextius Calvinus.

A. R. 629 Q. Cæcilius Metel-

Ant. C. 123 lus Balearicus,

T. Quin-

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

A. R. 574 M. Junius Brutus,
Ant. C. 178 A. Manlius Vulso.
A. R. 575 C. Claudius Pulcher,
Ant. C. 177 Ti. Sempronius
Gracchus.

A. R. 576 Cn Cornelius Scipio
Ant. C. 176 Hispalus. He died
and in his room
was elected,
C. Valerius Lævi-
nus.

Q. Petillius Spurius.
He was killed in
War against the
Ligurians.

A. R. 577 P. Mucius Scævola,
Ant. C. 175 M. Æmilius Lepi-
dus.

A. R. 578 Sp. Posthumius Albi-
Ant. C. 174 nus,
Q. Mucius Scævola.

A. R. 579 L. Posthumius Al-
Ant. C. 173 binus,
M. Popillius Lænas.

A. R. 580 C. Popillius Lænas,
Ant. C. 172 P. Ælius Ligur.

War against Persia.

A. R. 581 P. Licinius Crassus,
Ant. C. 171 C. Cassius Longinus.

A. R. 582 A. Hostilius Mancius,
Ant. C. 170 nus,
A. Atilius Serranus.

A. R. 583 Q. Marcius Philip-
Ant. C. 169 pus II,
Cn. Servilius Cæpio.

A. R. 584 L. Æmilius Paulus
Ant. C. 168 II,
L. Licinius Crassus.

A. R. 585 Q. Ælius Pætus,
Ant. C. 167 M. Junius Pennus.

A. R. 586 C. Sulpicius Gallus,
Ant. C. 166 M. Claudius Mar-
cellus.

A. R. 587 T. Manlius Torqua-
Ant. C. 165 tus,
Cn. Octavius.

A. R. 588 A. Manlius Torqua-
Ant. C. 164 tus,
Q. Cassius Longi-
nus.

A. R. 589 Ti. Sempronius
Ant. C. 163 Gracchus II,
Man. Juvencius
Thalna.

A. R. 590 P. Scipio Nafica,
Ant. C. 162 C. Marcius Figulus.
These Consuls abdicated, and in
their room were elected,

P. Cornelius Lentu-
lus,
Cn. Domitius Ahe-
nobarbus.

A. R. 591 M. Valerius Mes-
Ant. C. 161 falla,
C. Fannius Strabo.

A. R. 592 L. Anicius Gallus,
Ant. C. 160 M. Cornelius Cethe-
gus.

A. R. 593 Cn. Cornelius Dola-
Ant. C. 159 bella,
M. Fulvius Nobilior.

A. R. 594 M. Æmilius Lepi-
Ant. C. 158 dus,
C. Popillius Lænas.

A. R. 595 Sex. Julius Cæsar,
Ant. C. 157 L. Aurelius Orestes.
A. R. 596 L. Cornelius Lentu-
Ant. C. 156 lus,
C. Marcius Figulus
II.

A. R. 597 P. Cornelius Scipio
Ant. C. 155 Nafica II,
M. Claudius Mar-
cellus II.

A. R. 598 Q. Opimius,
Ant. C. 154 L. Posthumius Albi-
nus.

A. R. 599 Q. Fulvius Nobilior,
Ant. C. 153 T. Annius Luscus.

These Consuls entered on their
charge the first of January,
and

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

and their example passed afterwards into a rule.

A. R. 600 M. Claudius Marcellus III,
Ant. C. 152

L. Valerius Flaccus.

A. R. 601 L. Licinius Lucullus.
Ant. C. 151

A. Posthumius Albinus.

A. R. 602 T. Quintius Flamininus,
Ant. C. 150

Man. Acilius Balbus.

The third Punic war.

A. R. 603 L. Marcius Censorinus,
Ant. C. 149

Man. Manlius.

A. R. 604 Sp. Posthumius Albinus,
Ant. C. 148

L. Calphurnius Piso.

A. R. 605 P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus,
Ant. C. 147

C. Livius Drusus.

A. R. 606 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus,
Ant. C. 146

L. Mummius.

A. R. 607 Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus,
Ant. C. 145

L. Hostilius Mancinus.

A. R. 608 Ser. Sulpicius Galba,
Ant. C. 144

A. R. 609 Ap. Claudius Pulcher,
Ant. C. 143

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.

A. R. 610 L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus,
Ant. C. 142

Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.

A. R. 611 Cn. Servilius Cæpio,
Ant. C. 141

Q. Pompeius.

A. R. 612 C. Lælius Sapiens,
Ant. C. 140

Q. Servilius Cæpio.

A. R. 613 Cn. Calphurnius Piso,

Ant. C. 139 M. Popillius Lænas.

A. R. 614 P. Cornelius Scipio

Ant. C. 138 Nafica,

D. Junius Brutus.

A. R. 615 M. Æmilius Lepidus,

Ant. C. 137

C. Hostilius Mancinus.

A. R. 616 P. Furius Philus,

Ant. C. 136 Sex. Atilius Serranus.

A. R. 617 Ser. Fulvius Flaccus,

Ant. C. 135 C. Calphurnius Piso.

A. R. 618 P. Cornelius Scipio

Ant. C. 134 Africanus Æmilianus II,

C. Fulvius Flaccus:

A. R. 619 P. Mucius Sævola,

Ant. C. 133 L. Calphurnius Piso Frugi.

Sedition of Ti. Gracchus.

A. R. 620 P. Popillius Lænas,

Ant. C. 132 P. Rupilius.

A. R. 621 P. Licinius Crassus

Ant. C. 131. Mucianus,
L. Valerius Flaccus.

A. R. 622 P. Perperna,

Ant. C. 130 C. Claudius Pulcher.

A. R. 623 C. Sempronius Tuditanus,
Ant. C. 129

Man. Aquillius.

A. R. 624 Cn. Octavius,

Ant. C. 128 T. Annius Rufus.

A. R. 625 L. Cassius Longinus,

Ant. C. 127 L. Cornelius Cinna.

A. R. 626 Man. Æmilius Lepidus,
Ant. C. 126

L. Aurelius Orestes.

A. R. 627 M. Plant. Hypsæus,

Ant. C. 125 M. Fulvius Flaccus.

A. R. 628 C. Cassius Longinus,

Ant. C. 124 C. Sextius Calvinus.

A. R. 629 Q. Cæcilius Metellus

Ant. C. 123 Balearicus,

T. Quin-

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

	T. Quintius Flaminius.		M. Aurelius Scaurus.
<i>A. R.</i> 630	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus,	<i>A. R.</i> 645	L. Cassius Longinus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 122	C. Fannius.	<i>Ant. C.</i> 107	C. Marius.
<i>A. R.</i> 631	Q. Fabius Maximus	<i>A. R.</i> 646	C. Atilius Serranus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 121	Allobrogicus,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 106	Q. Servilius Cæpio.
	L. Opimius.	<i>A. R.</i> 647	P. Rutilius Rufus,
<i>A. R.</i> 632	P. Manlius,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 105	Cn. Mallius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 120	C. Papirius Carbo.	Bloody defeat of the Romans by the Cimbri.	
<i>A. R.</i> 633	L. Cæcilius Metellus	<i>A. R.</i> 648	C. Marius II,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 119	Calvus,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 104	C. Flavius Fimbria.
	L. Aurelius Cotta.	<i>A. R.</i> 649	C. Marius III,
<i>A. R.</i> 634	M. Porcius Cato,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 103	L. Aurelius Orestes.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 118	Q. Marcius Rex.	<i>A. R.</i> 650	C. Marius IV,
<i>A. R.</i> 635	L. Cæcilius Metellus	<i>Ant. C.</i> 102	Q. Lutatius Catulus:
<i>Ant. C.</i> 117	Dalmaticus,	<i>A. R.</i> 651	C. Marius V,
	Q. Mucius Sævola,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 101	Man. Aquilius.
<i>A. R.</i> 636	C. Licinius Geta,	<i>A. R.</i> 652	C. Marius VI,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 116	Q. Fabius Maximus	<i>Ant. C.</i> 100	L. Valerius Flaccus.
	Eburnus.	<i>A. R.</i> 653	M. Antonius,
<i>A. R.</i> 637	M. Æmilius Scaurus,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 99	A. Posthu. Albinus.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 115	M. Cæcilius Metellus.	<i>A. R.</i> 654	Q. Cæcilius Metellus
		<i>Ant. C.</i> 98	Nepos,
<i>A. R.</i> 638	Man. Acilius Balbus,		T. Didius.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 114	C. Porcius Cato.	<i>A. R.</i> 655	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus,
<i>A. R.</i> 639	C. Cæcilius Metellus	<i>Ant. C.</i> 97	P. Licinius Crassus.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 113	Caprarius,	<i>A. R.</i> 656	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus,
	Cn. Capirius Carbo.	<i>Ant. C.</i> 96	C. Cassius Longinus.
<i>A. R.</i> 640	M. Livius Drusus,	<i>A. R.</i> 657	L. Licinius Crassus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 112	L. Calpurnius Piso	<i>Ant. C.</i> 95	Q. Mucius Sævola.
	Cæsonius.	<i>A. R.</i> 658	C. Coelius Calvus.
War with Jugurtha.		<i>Ant. C.</i> 94	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
<i>A. R.</i> 641	P. Cornelius Scipio	<i>A. R.</i> 659	C. Valerius Flaccus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 111	Nasica,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 93	M. Herennius.
	L. Calphurn. Bestia.	<i>A. R.</i> 660	C. Claudius Pulcher,
<i>A. R.</i> 642	M. Minucius Rufus,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 92	M. Perperna.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 110	Sp. Posthumius Albinus.	<i>A. R.</i> 661	L. Marcius Philippus,
<i>A. R.</i> 643	Q. Cæcilius Metellus	<i>Ant. C.</i> 91	Sex. Julius Cæsar.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 109	Numidicus,	The social war.	
	M. Junius Silanus.	<i>A. R.</i> 662	L. Julius Cæsar,
<i>A. R.</i> 644	Ser. Sulpicius Galba.	<i>Ant. C.</i> 90	R. Rutilius Lupus.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 108	Q. Hortensius, was	<i>A. R.</i> 663	Cn. Pompeius Strabo,
	named Consul,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 89	L. Portius Cato.
	and died. In his		L. Cor-
	room was elected,		

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

<i>A. R.</i> 664	L. Cornelius Sylla,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 74	M. Aurelius Cotta.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 88	Q. Pompeius Rufus.	<i>A. R.</i> 679	M. Terentius Varro
Exploits of	Sylla against Mithri-	<i>Ant. C.</i> 73	Lucullus,
	dates.		C. Cassius Varus.
<i>A. R.</i> 665	Cn. Octavius,	<i>A. R.</i> 680	L. Gellius Poplicola,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 87	L. Cornelius Cinna.	<i>Ant. C.</i> 72	Cn. Cornelius Len-
	He is deposed, and		tulus Clodianus.
	in his room is e-	<i>A. R.</i> 681	Cn. Aufidius Orestes;
	lected,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 71	L. Cornelius Lentu-
	L. Cornelius Merula.		lus Sura.
<i>A. R.</i> 666	C. Marius. He dies	<i>A. R.</i> 682	Cn. Pomp. Magnus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 86	and in his room is	<i>Ant. C.</i> 70	M. Licinius Crassus.
	elected,	<i>A. R.</i> 683	Q. Hortensius,
	L. Valerius Flaccus,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 69	Q. Cæcilius Metel-
	L. Corn. Cinna II.		lus Creticus.
<i>A. R.</i> 667	L. Corn. Cinna III,	<i>A. R.</i> 684	L. Cæcilius Metellus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 85	Cn. Papirius Carbo.	<i>Ant. C.</i> 68	Q. Marcus Rex.
<i>A. R.</i> 668	L. Corn. Cinna IV,	<i>A. R.</i> 685	C. Calphurnius Piso,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 84	Cn. Papirius Carbo	<i>Ant. C.</i> 67	Man. Acil. Glabrio.
	II.		Pompey conqueror of the pirates.
<i>A. R.</i> 669	L. Cornelius Scipio,	<i>A. R.</i> 686	M. Æmilius Lepidus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 83	C. Norbanus.	<i>Ant. C.</i> 66	L. Vocatius Tullus.
<i>A. R.</i> 670	C. Marius,	<i>A. R.</i> 687	L. Aurelius Cotta,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 82	Cn. Papirius Carbo	<i>Ant. C.</i> 65	L. Manl. Torquatus.
	III.	<i>A. R.</i> 688	L. Julius Cæsar,
	Sylla made Dictator.	<i>Ant. C.</i> 64	C. Marcus Figulus.
<i>A. R.</i> 671	M. Tullius Decula,	<i>A. R.</i> 689	M. Tullius Cicero,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 81	Cn. Cornelius Do-	<i>Ant. C.</i> 63	C. Antonius.
	labella.		Death of Mithridates.
<i>A. R.</i> 672	L. Cornelius Sylla	<i>A. R.</i> 690	D. Junius Silanus,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 80	Fælix II,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 62	L. Licinius Muræna.
	Q. Cæcilius Metel-	<i>A. R.</i> 691	M. Pupius Piso,
	lus Pius.	<i>Ant. C.</i> 61	M. Valerius Messalla
<i>A. R.</i> 673	P. Servilius Vatia I-		Niger.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 79	saureus,	<i>A. R.</i> 692	L. Afranius,
	Ap. Claud. Pulcher.	<i>Ant. C.</i> 60	Q. Metellus Celer.
<i>A. R.</i> 674	M. Æmilius Lepidus,	<i>A. R.</i> 693	C. Julius Cæsar,
<i>Ant. C.</i> 78	Q. Lutatius Catulus,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 59	M. Calphur. Bibulus.
<i>A. R.</i> 675	D. Junius Brutus,		War with the Gauls.
<i>Ant. C.</i> 77	Mam. Æmilius Le-	<i>A. R.</i> 694	L. Calphurnius Piso,
	pidus Livianus.	<i>Ant. C.</i> 58	A. Gabinus.
<i>A. R.</i> 676	Cn. Octavius.	<i>A. R.</i> 695	Cn. Cornelius Len-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 76	C. Scribonius Curio,	<i>Ant. C.</i> 57	tulus Spinther,
<i>A. R.</i> 677	L. Octavius,		Q. Cæcilius Metel-
<i>Ant. C.</i> 75	C. Aurelius Cotta.		lus Nepos.
<i>A. R.</i> 678	L. Licinius Lucullus,		Cn. Cor-

A REGISTER of the CONSULS.

- A. R.* 696 *Ant. C.* 56 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus,
L. Marc. Philippus.
- A. R.* 697 *Ant. C.* 55 Cn. Pompeius Magnus II,
M. Licin. Crassus II,
War of Crassus against the Parthians.
- A. R.* 698 *Ant. C.* 54 L. Domitius Ahenobarbus,
Ap. Claud. Pulcher.
- A. R.* 699 *Ant. C.* 53 Cn. Domit. Calvinus,
M. Valerius Messala.
- A. R.* 700 *Ant. C.* 52 Cn. Pompeius Magnus III,
C. Cæcilius Metellus Scipio.
- A. R.* 701 *Ant. C.* 51 Ser. Sulpicius Rufus,
M. Claud. Marcellus.
- A. R.* 702 *Ant. C.* 50 L. Æmilius Paulus,
C. Claud. Marcellus.
Civil War between Cæsar and Pompey.
- A. R.* 703 *Ant. C.* 49 C. Claud. Marcellus,
L. Cornel. Lentulus.
- A. R.* 704 *Ant. C.* 48 C. Julius Cæsar II,
P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.
Cæsar Dictator.
- A. R.* 705 *Ant. C.* 47 Q. Fufius Calenus,
P. Vatinius.
- A. R.* 706 *Ant. C.* 46 C. Julius Cæsar III,
M. Æmilius Lepidus.
- A. R.* 707 *Ant. C.* 45 C. Julius Cæsar IV,
without a Colleague.
- A. R.* 708 *Ant. C.* 44 C. Julius Cæsar V.
He is killed, and his place supplied by
P. Corn. Dolabella,
M. Antonius.
- A. R.* 709 *Ant. C.* 43 A. Hirtius,
C. Vibius Pansa.
These two Consuls are killed, and in
- their room are elected,
C. Julius Cæsar Octavius,
Q. Pedius. He dies, and in his room is elected,
P. Ventidius.
- Triumvirate of Lepidus, Antony and Octavius.
Proscription.
- A. R.* 710 *Ant. C.* 42 M. Æmi. Lepidus II,
L. Munatius Plancus.
- A. R.* 711 *Ant. C.* 41 L. Antonius,
P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.
- A. R.* 712 *Ant. C.* 40 Cn. Do. Calvinus II,
C. Afinius Pollio.
- A. R.* 713 *Ant. C.* 39 L. Marc. Censorinus,
C. Calvisius Sabinus.
- A. R.* 714 *Ant. C.* 38 Ap. Claud. Pulcher,
C. Norban. Flaccus.
- A. R.* 715 *Ant. C.* 37 M. Agrippa,
L. Canidius Gallus.
- A. R.* 716 *Ant. C.* 36 L. Gellius Poplicola,
M. Cocceius Nerva.
- A. R.* 717 *Ant. C.* 35 L. Cornificius,
Sex. Pompeius.
- A. R.* 718 *Ant. C.* 34 M. Antonius II,
L. Scribonius Libo.
- A. R.* 719 *Ant. C.* 33 C. Julius Cæsar Octavius II,
L. Vocatius Tullus.
- A. R.* 720 *Ant. C.* 32 L. Do. Ahenobarbus,
C. Sosius.
- A. R.* 721 *Ant. C.* 31 C. Julius Cæsar Octavius III,
M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus.
Battle of Actium.
- A. R.* 722 *Ant. C.* 30 C. Julius Cæsar Octavius IV,
M. Licinius Crassus.
- Death of Antony
- A. R.* 723 *Ant. C.* 29 C. Jul. Cæs. Octavi. V,
Sex. Appuleius.
Triumphs of Octavius.

F I N I S.

